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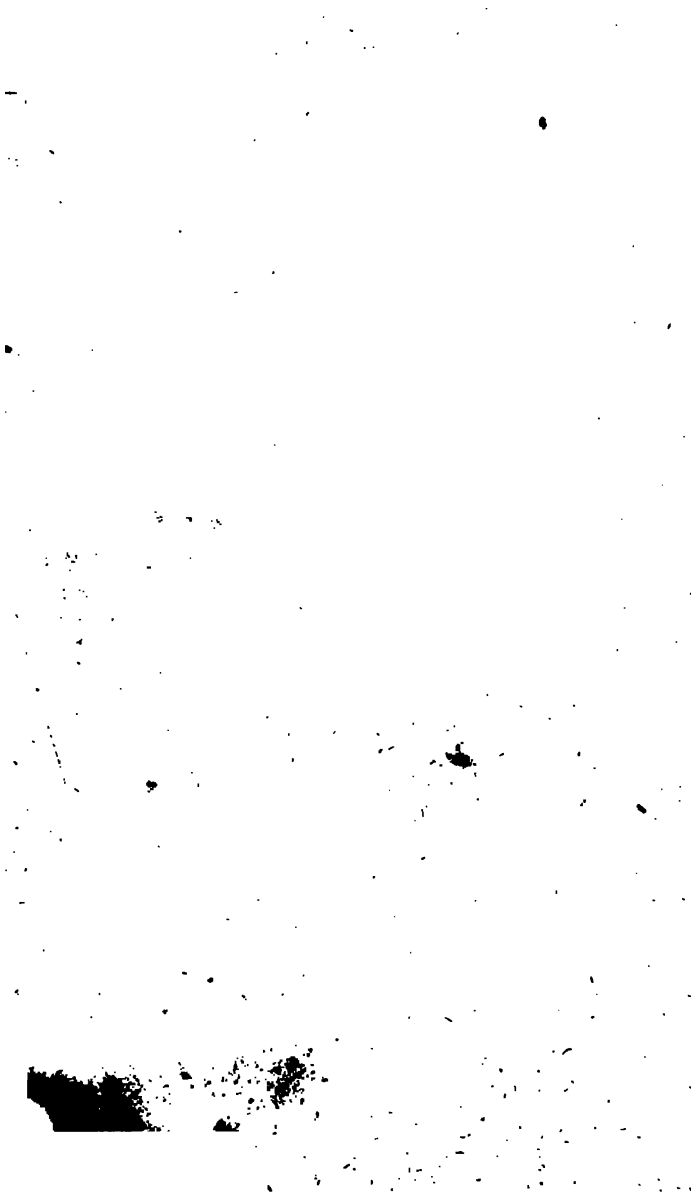

MORAL & POLITICAL TRUTH;

OR

REFLECTIONS SUGGESTED

BY READING

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

BY JACOB FRANKLIN HESTON.

It is the duty of every one to search diligently after truth; to listen dispassionately for its sake; and to condemn no man until he has been fully and charitably heard. Let no one, therefore, pass sentence on this book, until he has read it; nor on its author, until his motives, circumstances and objects, have been candidly and impartially considered.

PHILADELPHIA:

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1811.

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DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO WIT:

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eleventh day of March, in the thirty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1811. Jacob Franklin Heston of the said District, hath deposited in this Office, the Title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"Moral and Political Truth; or reflections suggested "by reading History and Biograghy. By Jacob Franklin "Heston. It is the duty of every one to search dilligently "after truth; to listen dispassionately for its sake; and to "condemn no man until he has been fully and charitably heard. "Let no one, therefore, pass sentence on this book, until he "has read it; nor on its author, until his motives, circum- "stances and objects, have been candidly and impartially con- "sidered."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States intitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the times therein mentioned," And also to the Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, an Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned. And extending the Benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

(L. S.) D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

DEDICATION.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ.

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, &c. &c.

SIR,

IN dedicating this book to you, I have many reasons to expect, that I shall escape the censures, which the authors of dedicatory addresses so generally, and so justly, deserve. If you had not retired from office into the peace of private life, this address might have afforded some pretext, perhaps, to charge me with motives, very different from those by which I am actuated. But sir, you neither wear a crown, nor hold an office; and therefore, the base incentives by which dedicators are so often influenced, cannot with any plausibility be imputed to me. Indeed, if you were still in office, such reproaches could not be believed; because it could not be supposed that I am ignorant of a character, which is known to all the rest of my fellow citizens. It it now

obvious, I believe, that no eulogium could induce you to grant favours to the unworthy; nor the omission of it to withhold them from merit. Hence, sir, if you were still in office, it must be evident that I would not, if I were seeking promotion or gain, inscribe my productions to one, from whom no more could be obtained by that means, than could be obtained without. Besides, as so fit an occasion, for an address of this kind, has seldom, or perhaps never, occurred before, I ought not to be judged by common criterions.

I have addressed you, sir, on the present occasion, not only for the purpose of expressing my gratitude for the services which you have rendered to mankind; but for the honour of publicly declaring my intire approbation of your public and private life. I may not perhaps, be informed of all your private transactions; but I give them this approbation, with the fullest confidence; because your political and official conduct has given the most unequivocal proof, that your private life has been laudable and correct. He who preserves an unsullied virtue in the highest stations, and in the greatest prosperity, as well as under the pressure of the greatest difficulties, would certainly act with propriety in every sphere in which he could be placed; for whoever with virtuous firmness uniformly resists the stronger temptations, would surely not yield to the weaker.

You will observe, sir, that I do no more at present, than adopt the easiest method of participating in the honour of another's merit. For, by adopting the works and sentiments of others, we seem to share in their

fame; though we have neither the wisdom with which their plans were devised, nor the prudence or fortitude by which they were executed. And it is thus, sir, by this approbation of Your policy, that I seem to share in the honour of it.

But, independent of the high gratification and honour, which I derive from this public acknowledgment of my approbation and regard; if the tendency of this book is consistent with the design of writing it, to whom could I offer the homage of its dedication, with that propriety with which it is now offered to you. For, you were not only the first to make a prompt and manly declaration of independence; but you have uniformly evinced, on all occasions since, the most incorruptible attachment to liberty, and the most disinterested desire to extend and preserve it for the benefit of the human race. Under your administration the most obvious defects of the constitution were removed; and its best principles strengthened and preserved. Under you, the friends of liberty, cheerfully and unanimously united for its defence; and by you it was protected from foreign and domestic foes. Under you, the diabolical spirit of despotism was suppressed; and by your firmness, some of the would be tyrants of our country, were driven from our shores.

In short, under your wise, lenient, and pacific administration, we enjoyed the most unexampled prosperity, and "witnessed the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it."

After so many heart saddening instances of the infamous and cruel success of monarchs; and amidst so many shocking examples of political turpitude and apostacy, it it peculiarly grateful to the mind, to behold, in this happy country, wisdom triumphing over folly, virtue over vice, and truth over falshood. It must, indeed, be the sweetest consolation, amidst these melancholy instances of political, immoral, and infernal deception; to behold a great and incorruptible statesman, scorning the baubles and temptations of ambition, trampling on the spirit of tyranny and oppression, and, with a firm heart and capacious mind, protecting his country from the evils which threaten it, and preserving its freedom, peace, and prosperity. At least, to a mind possessed of honest sensibility, I cannot imagine what could afford a higher gratification, than to see a good man always successful, when he is struggling with such glorious and invincible integrity, to discharge the most sacred of duties: especially, when he bears down before the tide of his good fortune, the extreme cruelty and depravity of a despotic or monarchical spirit: for as history proves that there is nothing more cruel than the success of that spirit; so nothing should give us more joy, than to see it successfully opposed. Hence, sir, while I have beheld your success, I have felt the liveliest gratification; and have imbibed the pleasing hope, that your great example would limit the ambition of others; and stimulate your successors to walk in your path.

But sir, if it is a pleasure to reflect on your services, it must also be a pleasure to know that they have met with a grateful reward. I do not, however, mean to insinuate that your reward is equal to your services; but I believe it is the greatest which a wise man can experience, and it arises from the happiness, gratitude and veneration of his fellow citizens. If it must afford pleasure even to an ordinary mind, to reflect on the happiness of this extensive country; what delight must it give to you to behold the felicity of so many millions; especially, if you consider that you were so greatly instrumental in procuring it.

With respect sir, to this book, whatever may be its effect, or its merit, it was written in favour of liberty: and therefore I think I could not offer the homage of this dedication to any one with as much consistency as it is now offered to you, to whom we are so much indebted for the liberty which we at present enjoy.

But, if I am acquainted with the sentiments of the public, it is not only your political discernment, services and integrity which have, in their judgment, entitled you to our respect; but, though I have addressed this book to you merely as to the great defender of liberty, yet, if it had possessed the greatest literary merit, I should, nevertheless, have thought it most proper to inscribe it to you: and the propriety of it would, I believe, be no less obvious to the public.

I have not, however, the vanity to expect that one who has been accustomed to write with the greatest elegance, perspicuity, and correctness, will find much, ex-

cept truth, to esteem in this book: nor do I expect that one who possesses the finest taste, and is the most capable of perceiving the smallest shade or tincture of impropriety, can peruse it without meeting with many gloomy or unsavoury passages in his way. But I confidently hope, that, if it would be an atom in the scale of liberty, you will be cautious in animadverting on it's defects; for I cannot, be insensible that if this work has any merit, the sanction of your name would give it currency, and notwithstanding its defects, make it in some degree useful to the public.

If, in making this address without your knowledge or consent, I have committed an error, I know that there are none more likely to pardon errors, than those who know how to avoid them; and the hope of impunity encouraged me to gratify my inclination, by a more free communication of sentiment, than may, perhaps, be proper on the present occasion. I have not however mentioned facts and opinions, because I thought that it would be agreeable to you to hear even the truth in your own praise, but because I thought that it would be honourable to me, and in some other respects proper, to mention them. I have not said enough to do justice to my own feelings, although I have said more than can be agreeable to yours: but, if I have derived a gratification at your expence, I hope you will pardon this freedom when you reflect, that I consider this as the only opportunity which I can ever have of publishing sentiments so honourable to myself. I hope also that you will pardon the manner of publishing them, when you

reflect on the plainness of my understanding, and the difficulty of attaining the object which I desire on the one hand, without violating the strict rules of decorum on the other. This is a difficulty to which I fear I am unequal: and I should make the experiment with the greatest apprehension if it could occasion any serious injury. But, for particular reasons, I have determined to express the truth in this address; and when all other apologies fail, I will plainly appeal for my justification to the right, which every man has of declaring his approbation of another's conduct. This is a right which you cannot deny. I do not, however, wish to appear in the high road of venal dedicators: and, lest I should seem to be treading in the same path, I will only recapitulate what I have, before observed, that I wish this address to be considered, merely as the sincere declaration of the gratitude which I feel, and of the sentiments which I am proud to proclaim: and that, to consider it in any other light would indeed be an act of injustice: for as to the assertions which it contains, they are notoriously true; and as to the expression of my regard, there is no reason to believe that it is not, what it really is, the purest homage of my soul, uninfluenced by the body or its concerns.

I will now conclude, without venturing to trouble you with any other remark, except, that I fear the length and prolixity of this address will admit of no excuse;

permit me however, in taking my leave to reiterate the warmest assurances of my sincerity and of the great veneration, with which

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your most devoted friend
and Fellow Citizen,
JACOB FRANKLIN HESTON.

PREFACE.

THE People have a right to expect from the author of any publication which is intended for their perusal, a respectful apology for it's defects. They have a right to expect also, that every individual who solicits their notice, will publish his reasons for taking that liberty; and justify the presumption of claiming their attention. As a part therefore of the apology which I have to offer, permit me to observe, that a want of more time or leisure is one reason for publishing this production in it's present state. But a variety of causes which it is unnecessary to mention (and some of which you will doubtless observe are too obvious) have prevented me from giving the truths it contains that arrangement and dress, in which I could wish them to appear. I do not mention this to save myself from censure or burlesque; but to save my sentiments from that, which can only be due to the garb, in which they are clothed. If a man is reduced by inevitable misfortune, to the necessity of appearing in a tattered dress, if he possess merit, we ought not to despise him on account of the clothes he wears, so we ought not to despise truth, although it should not appear in the richest attire. Yet if the manner or lan-

guage, which an author employs, exposes him to censure or ridicule, it too often tends to lessen the weight of his arguments; and the force of those principles which he endeavours to support. So if an author is believed to be weak, his productions will be seldom read; and his opinions, however correct, will not be listened to with that attention which they deserve. But aware of this, I have made a more particular apology for the defects of this book, than I should otherwise have offered, For it would be a cause of extreme regret, if these defects should have a tendency to lessen the influence of those important truths, which I fervently wish to disseminate.

The piece, which I offer to the public, is, I know, defective: it may want method, and a proper connexion and arrangement of sentiment: it may want harmony, elegance and correctness: it may in some parts be too redundant; and in others too brief; yet, with all its imperfections upon it, I have thought it more advisable to publish it now, than to wait till time, health and leisure, would afford an opportunity to revise it. If I had delayed its publication for that purpose, I might perhaps have rendered it more accurate; and by that means have saved myself from some portion of that abuse, which the malignant will use, to gratify, themselves and effect their evil designs. But if the sentiments of this little work would be more useful, at the present time, in their dishabille, than they would be in a more elegant dress at a future period, it is most proper to publish them now.

For many parts of this poem, which appear defective, I shall be excused by the judicious reader; he will perceive, that it would have been impossible to omit them without breaking that chain of reasoning, which it was necessary to preserve.

They who are acquainted with the difficulty of deducing an argument in verse, as well as they, who are displeased with this poem, will probably be surprised, that I should choose to communicate my sentiments in poetry instead of prose. But this surprise will cease when I inform them, that chance, and not a deliberate choice, was the cause of clothing my remarks in verse. I had no great confidence in my poetical talents; and, therefore it was not till after the commencement of the following poem that I formed the intention of publishing it, and this omission of a previous design was one cause and must now be a part of the apology for any defect of method which is observable in it. The detestation of tyrants excited by the history of their lives, first induced me, in the plenitude of my abhorrence, to express my sentiments in verse. And after my just indignation had overflowed, and in this manner had accidentally assumed the form of a small poem, I formed the design of enlarging the production for publication. And, believing that it may do some good, but cannot possibly do any injury, except to myself, I accordingly offer it to the public.

I regret the necessity of that acrimony which has been used in this work. It was not employed because I wished to offend any portion of my fellow men; but

merely for the purpose of promoting those principles which would be useful to all.

It would scarcely be necessary to give the reasons of this publication, to those who possess honesty and discernment. It must be evident to them, that it is published to assist in the support and intention of civil liberty and thereby to contribute to the happiness of mankind. This is the motive which has induced me to lay this production before the public: and this motive I hope will justify me, in claiming a small portion of their attention. I know, indeed, that in the opinion of some, the motive only, with which a work is published, is not a sufficient justification. They require, not only that the motives should be pure, but the work useful. And it is very true, that no production ought to be published, unless it could, in some degree, contribute to the welfare of society. A writer perhaps may not always be able to foresee the effects of his labour; but he ought not to intrude on the public, without a reasonable expectation at least, that his work would have a useful tendency. Such an expectation I presume to entertain; and if this book shall make one convert to liberty, or be in the smallest degree useful in its defence, it will justify me in laying it before the public.

Is there an American who can turn his eyes towards Europe, and behold the monarchs, tyrants, wars and devastations of the present day, and not rejoice when he hears the language of freemen, singing the praises of liberty? that liberty which is the source of all his happiness and his security from such monstrous evils? is

one who can behold that European scene of blood, slaughter and wretchedness; and yet censure me for contributing my little, in support of that inestimable democracy, which protects him from such incalculable misery? While one half of the world groans under the lash, and weight of monarchy; while war with accumulative horrors, drives the affrighted sons of Europe to and fro; while dangers both internal, and external, threaten to disturb the last peaceful refuge for the oppressed; while even the distant shores of Columbia, are shocked by the convulsions of European tyranny and corruption; he who endeavors to lessen human calamities, by supporting the just rights of man, will not be criticized by any but the enemies of the human race.

The object of this poem, therefore, will protect it from the sneers of the wise and just: for all just men will be careful not to depreciate, by censure or ridicule, the character of that work, which tends to promote the principles they love. And however great its defects, they would rather hide than expose them. But all men are neither wise nor just: and they who are not, will criticize this poem, and make it the object of their ridicule. But amidst all their contemptible jests, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing, that whatever is said against a book which has a good tendency, can come from none but the greatest scoundrels in society. And I shall be pleased to see villainy unmasked and stigmatized, by endeavouring to stigmatize me.

If I receive the approbation of the best of men, I shall not be much troubled by the scoffs aud reproaches of the worst: I have not written for fame, and therefore,

cannot be disappointed. And whatever may be the fate of my character, if my productions shall have the least tendency to support the liberty of my country, I shall never wish to recall them. In the secure enjoyments of liberty, I can disregard the slander of it's enemies: In the sun shine of the purest motives, I can laugh at their utmost abuse, and consoled ay the reflection, that I have aided in support of the blessing which I enjoy, I can defy that implacable and cruel animosity, which has always distinguished and disgraced the enemies of freedom.

POSTSCRIPT.

Thinking that my information was too limited, my health too much impaired, and my circumstances every way too unfavourable, to enable me to write such historical and explanatory notes on the following poem, as would be full and satisfactory; I had resolved to publish it without any explanation; and had actually placed it in the hands of a printer for that purpose; but a few days after, as the printer was not ready to commence the printing immediately, I took it out of his hands, and shewed it to a friend, who had not previously seen it. He appeared to approve of it generally; but thought that some explanatory notes would be useful; and that it ought not to be published without. With this opinion the gentleman who had engaged to print it, and some others seemed to concur: and, indeed, with respect to

the utility of notes, my own opinion coincided with theirs: and therefore, though, for the reasons above mentioned, I had resolved to publish it without, I was easily persuaded to make an attempt to write some kind of annotations; and after considerable delay, from a variety of causes, I have at last produced something, which, although very imperfect, I shall venture to lay before the public. For me, a work of this nature, would have been difficult, even under the most favourable circumstances; but, by the peculiar situation in which I have laboured, this difficulty has been greatly increased. However, though I have pursued this work through a crowd of inconveniences, I have not always been unattended by consolations. But though I may have as strong a desire of obtaining a competency as other men, I cannot say, that the hope of gain, has been any inducement to this work: for, if wealth had been the object of my pursuit, many other roads exhibited a fairer prospect of success. From the fate of authors, whom I could not be vain enough to expect to equal, I have learned to known how little ought to be expected by one, who devotes his time to such employments. He may create enemies by the promulgation of his opinions, and destroy his health by want of exercise: he may spend his time in sedentary labour, and relinquish wealth and comfort, in support of truth; but though he submit to these evils for the good of the public, no man will reward him for his toil.

I regret that I am unable to finish the notes in a more eligible manner: but if any edition, alteration, or revision, shall appear to be merited or necessary, it can be

effected, perhaps, at a future time. They will, I hope be useful in their present state: however, whatever be their merits or demerits, I am not able to devote more attention to them at present; and can offer no other apology for their defects. They were chiefly intended for persons who have been too much engaged in business to acquire much information: and this being the chief object for which they were written; if they were adapted for this purpose, they must necessarily contain more than can be instructive to every reader. With the same motive, or from a desire of rendering them plain to all capacities, I have in some places admitted a species of tautology or repetition, which will probably not be very agreeable to persons of the best taste and judgment. To such persons, any thing which sounds like tautology, must be entirely superfluous: however, no one will be obliged to read more than he shall find useful.

Although I have examined the actions of men, with a scrutiny and severity which may appear uncharitable, it has not been from any uncharitable motive or sensation. A man may undoubtedly feel a proper abhorrence of crimes, and may use his exertions to prevent them, without feeling any desire of imposing any useless punishment on those who commit them. So in the present case, I have done no more than appeared to me to be useful. I have made no personal allusions: and if any of my remarks should be applicable to the conduct, and therefore injurious to the feelings of any one, let him censure himself, and not me. It has not been my intention to create any degree of coldness or incivility, be-

tween men of different opinions: my object has been to increase, and not to diminish the harmony of society. I wish every man to be sociable and free with his neighbours; to compare his opinions with theirs; and, without anger or animosity, endeavour to reason them out of their errors and vices, or be reasoned out of his own. I wish that men, however different in opinion, would cultivate an intimacy with each other: and thus, by a friendly intercourse between them, and a candid and unreserved interchange of sentiment, give reason an opportunity to produce a uniformity of opinions, consistent with the unity of truth.

The rules of morality, which I have attempted to inculcate, may be deemed too exact, perhaps, to be strictly observed: but they are, however, not any too strict. Let every man steer as near as he can to the exact rules of morality; and if he have transgressed, or shall transgress any moral obligation, let him not, therefore, be discouraged, nor become more regardless of his duty. Many a one, through the impetuosity of youth or temper, has overleaped the bounds of religion and morality, and has afterwards reformed, and become a respectable member of society. Besides, if a man could not be the best, it would certainly not be rational, on that account to become the worst. If he cannot do the most good, let him (for he will derive the benfit of it) do as much as he possibly can. This is most rational, for every contribution, however small, will add to the stock or means of virtue, and accelerate the progress of general reformation.

If there is any thing worthy of our attention, beyond the mere gratification of our senses, it is the melioration of life. If there is any one object more important than another, it is to serve God, by serving his creatures. For, unless we have no choice; unless it is entirely indifferent or immaterial what path we pursue, or what deeds we perform, it must be our duty to do that which will produce the most happiness; and avoid the most misery. What will be the most effectual in the production of this great end? The abolition of that which occasions the most contention and torture, hardships and want. What will prevent or cause these evils? Government if bad, will cause; or if good, prevent them. If governments are the most powerful engines which can be used to operate on the world, it is of the utmost importance to ascertain, both the bad and the good; and to abolish the one, and establish the other. Different kinds of governments have certainly existed in the world, and mankind have entertained different opinions respecting them. But all agree that they have the most important influence on society; and that different kinds are widely different in their effects. As their influence is so great, and their effects so widely different, it must therefore, be very important to shew, which is the most injurious to life: as it is by the assistance of those who are not informed, that such governments are established.

If the actions of men can have no influence on the world, morality is a farce, wisdom is folly, and it is as good to do one act as another. In that case there is nothing submitted to the choice of a rational creature; and this act is like all others, on a perfect equality.

Consequently no one can condemn me, in this instance, without condemning himself: for if we have any power to influence the world, I am right, and he who censures me is wrong: but if we have no power to alter the condition of life, we are mere machines; and if I act mechanically, so does he who condemns me. Hence I am not wrong in either case. But can any one suppose that we are mere automatons? No: every man acts with a consciousness of free agency, when he is endeavouring to benefit himself; and, therefore, let him not forget it when he might benefit others: for if he is a free agent in the one case, he must be in the other. I have remembered it in writing this book; and therefore, I hope it will be remembered by the reader.

A discussion of religious subjects being generally foreign to the object of this work, I have opposed no religious creed, further than it was connected with this subject. And that I might not, by being supposed to be a friend to one sect, and an enemy to all the rest, place the prejudice of any sect in the way of truth; it was not my intention to make any declaration of my religious opinions; and if this book should contain any ambiguous or doubtful passage, I enter this general protest against the inference of any such declaration.

I am very sensible, that this introduction has already extended to too great a length; and, lest the reader's patience should be exhausted, I will extend it no further.

POLITICAL TRUTHS,

OR

REFLECTIONS SUGGESTED BY READING HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

PART I.

O Muses! virtue stands almost dismay'd!
O lend assistance! grant to her your aid!
Grant her your aid, and let her truths be hurl'd,
In thund'ring numbers round the drowsy world,
To rouse the people to their true delight,
The love of freedom and the sense of right.
For long the earth the rage of war has borne;
And long have tyrants caus'd the world to mourn:
And yet you seldom lend poetick aid,
To serve fair virtue, that celestial maid.
You have too seldom sung her righteous cause;
Or sought the glory of her just applause.
You sing of wars, you sing of battles won;
In fields of slaughter while a state's undone.
You sing of kings, who sought ignoble fame;
While injured millions execrate their name,
While better deeds, and themes are left unsung:
For these your lyre has been so often rung.
Your partial numbers often roll along,
The praise of men, unworthy of your song.

You do too often eulogize the brave,
Who kill ten thousand for the one they save.
You have too often prais'd the spurious great,
As if you dreaded to incur their hate.
You have too often flatter'd vicious kings,
Perhaps their riches brib'd the venal strings.
Has their corruption caus'd the tuneful lyre,
To make such notes as truth could not inspire?
Is that the cause? then muses change your strings:
Let freemen sing who fear no ruthless kings;
Nor would, for favours, titles, pow'r nor gold,
Assert one falshood, nor one truth withhold.
For once inspire an humble bard to sing;
Let truth be told though on an humbler string:
Inspire a freman with poetic rage,
To lash the vices of a vicious age:
And let me now before the public bring,
That strange production call'd a prince or king.
In him a sample most replete I find,
Of all the vices which disturb mankind.
The just who know them must detest their reign;
And wish that kings were all depos'd or slain:
And he who drives them off the civil stage,
Will merit praises to the latest age.
To shew their crimes and vicious nature too,
Are themes which, I with good intent, pursue:
Nor is this more than duty (1)* asks of me,
Because no nation, on this earth, is free;
Excepting this, my dear and native soil, (2)
Where peace and freedom still rewards our toil.

*The references in the following poem refer to the appendix.

O blest Columbia! long thy sons shall be,
A grand example for the world to see.
And yet, thy sons, who now so blest appear,
While kings exist, will still have cause to fear,
Unless they watch their public agents well,
And shun the woes which Greece (3) and Rome befel.
For monarchs strive to spread corruption wide,
Through ev'ry region where mankind reside;
Because they wish to keep all nations blind;
Lest truth and reason spread from mind to mind;
Lest good examples placed before their eyes,
Should teach by facts, and make the subject wise,
Lest genial freedom spread its sacred light,
And prompt the slave to vindicate his right;
Lest injur'd subjects, warm'd by freedom's heat,
Rush on like torrents to each monarch's seat,
Pull down the despots, overturn their thrones,
And heap the ruins on the tyrant's bones.

As kings spring up, so dross and scum arise;
The worst of men assume the monarch's guise.
For lo! how meanly, foes to freedom, cow'r,
And bow and cringe, and kiss the earth for pow'r;
And then as meanly act the tyrant's part,
When pow'r has swell'd the little, selfish heart:
In office, tyrants, cruel, vain, and proud;
If out, the meanest of the meanest crowd:
Kings rise with baseness; and their pow'r descends
To rest in baseness till the monster ends:
For kings, unmov'd, behold another's grief,
And feel no wish to give the least relief:

But mean must be the man who never knows,
A single sorrow for another's woes;
And, though he gratifies his pride and hate,
They think corruptly who desire his state.
Lest doubts on terms, and cavils, hence, arise,
What monarch means, I briefly now premise:
Where, from the ruler at the close of care,
Chief pow'r descends to some surviving heir;
Or where elections can't again devest
The one in whom the highest powers rest;
Or lawless sway is held by one alone;
There is a monarch, and his seat or throne.
And where the few, such lawless pow'rs possess,
Forms oligarchic, (4) also cause distress.
But then this form, and oligarchic race,
To kingly pow'r must resign their place;
And, like some insects, with their latest breath,
Produce their offspring, while they sink in death;
For thus, at last an oligarchic state
Engenders monarchs either soon or late.
I shall concisely next preceed to shew,
How kings or monarchs, from the germe, must grow.
Know, then, that pride, the bane of social life,
Produc'd corruption, enmity and strife.
As carnal heaps engender brilliant flies,
So kings or monarchs, in corruption rise.
They first begin with little arts and wiles,
With bows, professions, flatteries and smiles.
They next employ, as they to notice rise,
Gifts, crimes, offences, promises and lies;

And, when distinguished by such sordid means,
And made conspicuous to congenial fiends,
Their coadjutors yield to them the helm;
And make them monarchs in each infant realm.
When thus preferred for crimes and vile deceit
They form the centres where all scoundrels meet
And there the vermin who subvert the state,
Around these traitors in submission, wait.
And, now, they spread each leader's fame abroad,
Extol his mind, and all his deeds applaud;
Except those deeds which prove his guilt and pride;
And those they strive, with equal zeal, to hide.
They praise his talents, while they hide his crimes,
And thus, a monster, into office, climbs.
A stronger impulse, to his gang, extends,
To fright his foes, and instigate his friends;
Whose boldness strengthens till the bolder sort,
At last to threats and even blows, resort:
And, while their poisons through the land are shed,
Corruption, fear, and strange delusion, spread.
When all the knaves, the dregs, and drones, combine;
And some through fear, and some through weakness join,
Then open force assumes the place of guile;
And calls religion, with deceitful smile,
To aid what pride, deceit and sword, began;
And rivit chains on poor deluded man.
Thus man was robb'd, thus earth was turned to hell,
When thrones were rais'd, and blissful freedom fell:
Thus usurpations, in this brutal (5) way,

At first, established all monarchal sway ;
And ev'ry man who fills or holds a throne,
Deriv'd his title from this cause alone :
Or else that rule which men unjustly make
Their sons, if equal, would have power to break :
But kings prevent it by the pow'rs they gain,
And future ages ask redress, in vain.
What right have we to choose a king or queen,
For men unborn, for millions yet unseen.
If we presume, a stock or line, to choose,
We take, from them, the very pow'r we use.
Have sons no right ? that fathers choose a line
To rule their children after their decline ?
Yes, ev'ry age has rights which equal ours ;
And, hence, 'tis wrong (6) to exercise such pow'rs.
Unseen, unborn, an heir is fixt to rule,
Who, ten to one, will be a knave or fool :
For courtiers choose an heir unborn, unfram'd,
To govern others, also still unnam'd.
Thus men unknown, a line not yet begot,
A race of savage loons, as like as not,
Are rais'd o'er millions all more wise or kind,
All far superior, both in form and mind.
It is absurd to choose such men as these,
To rule the world, and govern as they please :
But more unjust, without concern or trust,
To raise a savage when you sink to dust. (7)
Shall nations hang their fate on one poor brain, (8)
Which may, to-morrow, melt with heat or pain !
Or which some cause or chance may quickly change !

Or ease, intemp'rance, and disease, derange !
Which may, that instant, or by slow degrees
Become a monster whom no man can please !
And who, in fits of madness, rage, or fear,
May spoil the work of many a thousand year ;
Lay waste whole nations, and with brutal mind,
Set up whole nights (9) to torture half mankind !
Forget, next day, each bloody nightly deed ;
And call his subjects while his subjects bleed !
Or end their lives within his torturing fire ;
Or, on the rack, or, in the wheel, expire !
For men whose sentence pass'd the day before,
Men scarcely cold, or weltering still in gore,
Have been invited ; orders given deny'd ;
And crime and sentence while the victim died,
Forgot, by him, by whose command they bled ;
For thus vile Claudius, (10) round him, heaped the dead.
So much, indeed, was ancienct Rome enslav'd,
The vilest thieves, for stolen wealth, were sav'd :
While honest blood, for large estates, was spilt ;
For then large fortunes (11) were the proofs of guilt.
The man who lent, those bloody Cæsars, gold,
And he who kept it, were, alike, enroll'd
In death's long list, for some pretended plot,
And hung, perhaps, in public view, to rot.
For those they ow'd such princely treatment, met ;
The lender's blood (12) expung'd the prince's debt.
Reprieves and pardons, (13) by those fiends, were sold
And thus through felons, monarchs drew their gold.

If knaves had wealth which they through slaughter,
gain'd;
By that same wealth, was pardon oft' obtain'd.
Those monarchs, thus, rapacious rogues excus'd,
Encourag'd crimes, and ev'ry vice diffus'd.
If worthy deeds had gain'd applause or name,
If men had talents, virtue, worth, or fame,
The prince was jealous: (14) ev'ry shout, he fear'd,
As if some rival, at his gates, appear'd.
A shout of praise was like informer's breath;
The noblest actions, only led to death.
The men whom Cæsars rais'd to posts of trust,
Must ape the prince, in scenes of blood and lust:
Those monarchs trembl'd, if they understood,
That any tool was deem'd more wise or good.
Hence none held office, (15) but the vilest kind,
Whose bloody souls, to bloody deeds, inclin'd.
The worse their deeds, the less the monarch's fear;
The less their praise disturb'd his royal ear.
If men did well, and gain'd the least renown,
They might perhaps, expect the prince's crown:
Some rival started from his sickly brain;
To end such rivals, all the best were slain;
But how can words describe the various crimes,
Which Roman princes spread through Roman climes?
Their spies (16) were sent through ev'ry part of Rome;
And wrongs and dangers spread to each man's home:
Men's wives were forc'd; and neither house nor street,
Nor field nor forest, form'd a safe retreat:
To loathsome princes, wives (17) were forc'd to yield;

And husbands fell, in playhouse, street, (18) and field;
Nay, wives, sons, daughters, all descriptions, fell,
And souls, by thousands, left that earthly hell:
If men express'd concern for state or town;
It show'd a wish to seize the royal crown:
To forc'd constructions, ev'ry act must bend;
If men were gay, they hop'd for Cæsar's end;
If men were sad, they envy'd Cæsar's reign;
Though merely mourning for their kindred slain.
To grieve for those the cruel prince had kill'd,
Was disrespect to what the prince had will'd:
The last sad rites, those bloody fiends forbid:
To mourn was death, unless the mourner hid.
Whole crowds, in chains, were daily seen to wait,
For dreadful dooms (20) before the tyrant's gate.
These cruel tortures, seem'd his first delights
He spent whole days, and even spent whole nights, (21)
Where crowds were writhing, torn by rack and wheel,
Yet, not one pang, the savage prince could feel
On those fell scenes, he feasted gravy eyes;
And fed his ears with human groans and sighs;
With scoffs, enjoy'd his subjects pangs and tears;
Their cries were music to their monarch's ears.
As brutes alone, receiv'd official trusts,
Each province (22) also teem'd with crimes and lusts;
A bad example, plac'd in ev'ry part,
Misled, deprav'd, and spoil'd the human heart.
With kings for leaders, men become debas'd:
For foolish leaders spoil the public taste.

Fools follow fashions whether wrong or wright;
And ape what splendour sets before their sight.
For spies and panders even grew so bold,
They ask'd the Romans for their wives or gold,
And promis'd safety; but whoe'er refus'd,
With racks, were threaten'd, and, with crimes, accus'd
Menac'd by spies, men gave extorted gold
To save their lives; and yet their lives were sold.
To charge was death, and yet the vilest breath
Could charge the best, and cause a cruel death.
Some savage monarchs pass'd their times away,
Inventing new or cruel modes to slay:
Some maim'd the eyes; and some, with brutal hearts,
Cut off the limbs, or tore the hidden parts; (23)
Some pass'd each sentence as the charge was made;
And some, more harden'd in the murd'ring trade;
Decreed, at once, (24) that all th' accus'd should die:
And one, wide sentence let their weapons fly.
Retailing orders wasted too much breath:
These wholesale tyrants sent great crowds to death;
And kept their carts, in constant work, to haul
The loads of slain, (25) beyond the city wall.

From these known facts, this clear conclusion flows,
That monarchs cause the worst of human woes.
Although those tyrants got such loads of gold
By confiscations and from pardons sold;
Although the world from north to south was drain'd
And wealth, by crimes, and even bawds obtain'd;
Yet even then, a monstrous tax was laid,
And wealth, extorted from the poorest trade:

For what! Alas, what shocking scenes are here !!!
Millions of poor, before our sight appear,
Robb'd of their bread, with starving children left,
Deprived of clothing, and of food bereft.
For what? the vilest of the race of men?
Knaves, felons, cut-throats, all the motley clan,
Of stupid sots, a vile, emetic, race,
With bloated carcase, and putrescent face!
Millions are seen, whom tender ties unite,
An who, with justice, might enjoy delight:
Wretched through want, aud robb'd of hard earn'd bread;
While idle thieves, and putrid sots (27) are fed:
Nay, gorged and glutted, till they lose all taste,
Yet take from others, though they rot with waste.
Mothers, beset by those they hold most dear,
Demanding bread, in countless groups, are here:
Here children helpless, parents weak and old,
Tott'ring through want, and pinch'd with wintry cold.
Are forced to pay the most of what they earn,
For fools to squander, or for kings to burn.
Or feed vast armies, kept like beasts of prey,
To turn on those, whom monarchs wish to slay.
There kings rejoice to see a single hour,
The slow-earn'd gain of toiling age, devour;
To see the work of honest, feeble hands,
Destroy'd by lusty, idle, useless bands;
To see, in short, from starving millions drain'd,
That hard-earn'd food, which many years obtained:
To see this wasted, makes them sing (29) with joy;

Or strut, like crows, on what the fools destroy.
Here golden dust is strew'd about the street,
To guild a path for stupid tyrants' feet;
And here are kings, who order troops to slay
The crowds, attending at a race or play:
And folks unarm'd, within the circus met,
For merely laughing, (31) are by troops beset,
Cut, hack'd, and bruised, without distinction slain;
The grave and laughing, both alike, remain
The sport of monarchs, whose audacious minds,
No sense of pity, shame, or prudence, binds.
And here, vast armies, though they drain the land,
Are lash'd, confin'd, and like young spaniels stand;
Depriv'd of virtue; all their ties destroy'd;
By nightly watch, and daily fear annoy'd.
Depriv'd of freedom, filled with vile disease,
And kill'd like beasts, when haughty masters please.
And here the parent, bending down with age,
And helpless children, other ills engage:
The sires' last hope, the children's only stay,
By tyrants press'd are rudely forc'd away;
And when the parents beg their sons again,
The prince commands that sires or sons be slain.
O Reader! Reader! if thy eyes could see
What things past ages might unfold to thee,
Thou mightest see what fancy fails to reach;
Such scenes as beggar all the powers of speech!
The greatest monster that exists to day
Is human (32) frailty, arm'd with sovereign sway.
If men are rais'd above the place design'd,

By nature's law, to fit their state of mind,
It causes discord: Hence, when raised to thrones,
Men cause discordance through all nature's tones.
'Tis thus in music; if we change the base
To tenor, counter, or to treble's place,
It baffles all the best musician's art,
To charm the ear, or sooth the human heart.
Monarchs or kings, their worst (33) desires, will sate;
Who dare to hinder, or incur their hate,
By word or deed? As laws will not restrain,
When kings transgress, no subject dare complain.
Let human passions prove the truths I sing,
When viewed in shape of some well guarded king:
Secur'd from others, and in strength, grown bold,
Nurs'd up in folly, and in wrongs, grown old;
Unaw'd by laws, and by no shame, restrain'd;
In crimes, long harden'd, and in blood, long stain'd,
Diseas'd and bloated, drunk and fill'd with wine;
Stuff'd, gorg'd, and heated, till his features shine;
Then flatter'd, worship'd, puff'd, and swell'd with praise:
Thus Neros laugh (34) to see their cities blaze.
Thus Alexanders make a sacrifice;
And slay whole crowds because a minion (35) dies.
Thus cruel Sapors slay their captive men,
To mend the roads, (36) and fill each hole and fen;
O'er groaning bodies, drive their cars and wains,
And dash through splashing, smoaking, gore and brains.
Let all the angry human passions speak,
When turn'd, unbridl'd, on the poor and weak:
They prove the nature of the heart and brain;

They prove that kings are never fit to reign:
For when their fierce and fiery passions rise,
All sense of shame and human feeling dies;
Reason itself, with ev'ry gleam of light,
Will leave its mansion to the shades of night;
Or rather leave a beast in human form,
As cold and cruel as the pelting storm.
The time has come when all mankind should read;
And, viewing folly, hate each wicked deed.
'Tis time to learn how man has been oppress'd;
And turn the dagger from the virtuous breast.
'Tis time to read what history relates;
How blood and slaughter fill monarchal states:
How ev'ry vice is fed and nourish'd there;
And murder laugh'd at by the royal pair.
The felon courted, and the guiltless scorn'd;
The just imprison'd, and the wretch suborn'd:
How vice is gilt to prop a guilty crown,
And shines at court with gingerbread renown: (38)
How, through the streets, he rolls in gaudy state,
Whose crimes are shocking even to relate:
And he, the shame, the scandal and disgrace,
Yes, the reproach of all the human race,
Is left unslain! and pamper'd up in Court,
'Till human woes become his greatest sport!
How, through the world, a villain's name has rung,
Whom pow'r has sav'd that justice would have hung:
How, snatch'd from justice by some prince or king,
The vicious triumph, while the righteous swing.
On lofty gibbets, rais'd to tutor slaves,

To bow with awe to stupid, princely knaves ;
To serve their shameful, loathsome, vile excess,
And tamely bear while savage men oppress.
The worst of tortures, kings, at first, design'd, (39)
For mere examples to deter mankind
From just attempts, to crush tyrannic pride,
And gain that freedom kings have long deni'd.
In regal states, malignant (40) passions join ;
And there the worst and vilest men combine.
There vice, hypocrisy, and pow'r, unite
With falshood, cruelty, revenge, and spite,
To cause the end which monarchs still pursue,
To make the many wretched for the few ;
To silence virtue, keep the world oppress'd
And smother wrath in each indignant breast.
The rack and dungeon are, for this, employ'd ;
For this, the patriot and his fame's annoy'd ;
For this, rich towns were burn'd, and thousands slain,
And houseless millions beggar'd round the plain ;
For this, such numbers fall by lawless force,
That heaps impede the savage tyrants course.
Behold ye monsters ! lo ! the groaning heap
Makes nature mourn, and call her rocks to weep ;
While you, more harden'd than the rocks, are found,
Still wield your swords, and spread the carnage round.
When all but you, to pity, seem to yield,
Yet you alone, to all compassion steel'd,
Are deaf to mothers who with shrieks advance,
To snatch their infants from the pointed lance :
And, while they fly to shield their dearer parts,

You send its tortures through their bleeding hearts.
O stay your hands! your bloody weapons stay!
And hear what justice, truth, and reason say.
Your murders, rapes, and boundless thirst for gold,
If merely mention'd, freeze our blood with cold.
Your gew-gaw trophies please your childish souls,
Till justice calls you, and your deeds unrolls:
And call, she will, when you, in great dismay,
Shall feel the rod for all your savage play;
Shall feel ashamed of what your conquests won,
And curse the day on which they first begun:
Then pale with fear, and then no longer gay,
Bid mountains hide you from the source of day.
Alas! when'er we retrospect the times,
When monarchs triumph'd in attrocious crimes
The mind disgusted, loaths the horrid view!
And curses tyrants, and their servile crew:
Marvels to find mankind in dismal plight,
And fondly fancies worlds where all is right;
And fain would fly to where the just prevail,
And thraldom's curse could not our lives assail.
But if no place presents itself to view.
And fancy turns to view the scenes anew;
Again we wish to leave the earth behind,
And fly for refuge to an orb more kind.
Thus retrospective fancy roves through gloom,
And follows martyrs to the silent tomb;
Surveys the scene where famous Tully died,
Near ancient Latium, at Cajeta's tide,
'Twas this great orator, whose virtue brav'd

An host of traitors, and his country sav'd.
By his resistless elocution fired,
The Roman senate pass'd the acts required,
To shield his country from the base design
Of traitors, leagu'd with stupid Cataline.
Yet mark his fortune, while I now relate
A brief account of his lamented fate.
By Rome's three (42) felons he was doom'd to die;
He knew his danger, and prepar'd to fly.
His brother Quintus, also doom'd to feel
The fatal point of some assassin's steel,
With his great brother, some small distance fled,
But soon return'd, and at his mansion bled.
And Tully, weary of his country's strife,
Seem'd hardly willing to preserve his life,
His mind, depress'd, unequal troubles bore,
And hence he wander'd up, and down the shore.
His face unshav'd and pale, and worn with care,
Was dress'd in grief, and mark'd with deep dispair.
Silent and sad he for his country mourn'd,
As here and there perplex'd with woes he turn'd.
He went to sea, but soon return'd again;
And twice he sail'd for Macedonia's plain.
Now turning back as he had done before,
He moor'd his vessel at Cajeta's shore,
And at his villa staid awhile to rest,
Compose his mind, and think what course was best:
But while lamenting on his downy bed,
E're balmy slumbers had compos'd his head,
His servants, rous'd by some unknown alarm,

Besought great Tully to escape from harm.
Then in his litter he approach'd the strand;
Once more resolv'd to leave his native land.
He went through groves, or close arcades of trees,
Which form'd his walk, and reach'd adjacent seas;
But while advancing near that famous shore,
On which he met the fate we still deplore,
Upon the beach he saw the tyrant's band
With swords unsheath'd, and gleaming o'er the land.
He knew the men, whom brutal Marcus (43) sent;
And fiends like those, he knew could not relent:
To those pick'd knaves he, therefore, never spoke,
But calmly waited for the fatal stroke.
He view'd them round without a smile or frown,
And bade his servants set his litter down:
Then from it rais'd his weary aged head,
To number soon among the happy dead.
Though he had friends, who would his loss lament,
Though he had travell'd through a life well spent;
Though he had liv'd to gain immortal fame,
And make the wise and good revere his name;
Though call'd the saviour of the Roman land,
Yet he was murder'd by a knave's command.
His wisdom, goodness, eloquence, his shield,
His aged locks could no protection yield,
The sport of monsters, on the shore he fell;
His only crime, he lov'd his country well.
When rudely treated with malignant scoff,
His head was sever'd, and his hand cut off.
Infirm and old, he fell an easy pray;

The fiends, exulting, bore his head away ;
To vile Antonius brought the horrid spoil,
Who pleas'd to see it grinn'd a hellish smile ;
Above the rostra fix'd the hand and head;
And then with shameless impudence he said,
" Proscription cease "; but while the monster spoke,
Loud indignation from the people broke.
His bloated trunk, and grim, infernal face,
His total want of feeling, shame or grace,
Made such a nausea run throughout the crow'd,
That while some murmur'd, others cried aloud;
All felt indignant, when the reeking head
Of one whose glory through the world had spread,
Was hung on high ; exposed to public view
By one, whose murders all the nation knew.
Here brutal Marcus well sustain'd his part,
A man in forehead, but a beast in heart,
A brute too vile, and too accurs'd for shame,
A monster, seeking for revenge and fame
Through blood and murder; urg'd with hostile hand
Against those men, whose virtues sav'd the land.
Around this monster, lo ! a crowd appear,
By hatred urg'd, but still restrain'd by fear
From taking signal vengeance on the foe,
The beast, who laid their greatest worthies low.
With pain and shame they ev'ry day beheld,
That tongue which had all other tongues excell'd;
Now cold and lifeless where it oft' had told
Such truths, as made the weak and timid bold.
For Cicero had often plead the cause,

Of injur'd virtue with so much applause,
That tears in streams did from his hearers flow;
His tongue so well describ'd another's woe:
And ev'ry one, who had a tear to shed
Could not withhold it when they saw him dead.
Next, view great Cato (44) whose more lasting name
Stands yet unrival'd on the rolls of fame.
He liv'd, unconquer'd, and, unconquer'd died,
Despising Cæsar, (45) and his childish pride.
No gold, no vice, no fear could once control
The spotless virtue of great Cato's soul.
He calm'd the sea of Rome's contentious parts,
And gain'd esteem from all the worthiest hearts.
Not fond of praise, yet like a god he stood,
The firmest champion of his country's good.
Humble though great, tho' eloquent not vain;
Just and yet cautious, brave and yet humane;
Moral yet free from superstitious fear,
Though rich not pompous, firm but not austere;
Active and yet he felt no love of sway;
His strongest impulse in his virtue lay.
He sought no fame, but still he watch'd the foes,
Who, drunk with pow'r against his country rose.
His great compassion taught the human mind
To act with mercy, and be always kind.
Extorted praises never pleas'd his ear;
All paid him homage, free from hope or fear.
Though active, brave, (46) and skilful, yet his mind.
Detested war, the curse of human kind.
Rich without pride, and without envy learn'd,

In danger calm, and yet the most concern'd;
But not for self, for others always more,
He toil'd for others till his toil was oe'r.
Sincere in love, and in his friendships too,
In all his actions he was just and true.
Thus Cato lived; and quite as bravely died;
His sword gave that, which stupid knaves denied:
It gave that freedom which he lov'd so well;
For that he fought, for that he bravely fell.
Such was the man, who when by tyrants press'd,
Plung'd his broad faulchion in his generous breast;
And show'd that virtue in his latest hour;
Which always rul'd him in his greatest pow'r.
For lo! the scene where Cato bravely dies;
There, half embowel'd, bath'd, in blood, he lies.
And there his friends in mournful groups surround,
And wash with tears the dreadful, streaming wound.
Ah live, they say, and do not leave us here;
Hard is your fate, but ours is more severe:
Without your aid a more unenvied fate
Will soon oe'rtake us from the pow'rs elate.
For us you toil'd, and watch'd alone by night;
And your last care prepar'd us all for flight:
But if you die, our fairest prospect end;
Ah live to serve your country and your friends!
The time may come when knaves will rise in vain,
You then may serve the cause of man again.
We ca'nt endure to see our Cato die;
They said, as tears distill'd from ev'ry eye.
They weeping, begg'd that he would not despair,

But save that life which Cæsar meant to spare.
And some propos'd in his behalf to sue,
And pledg'd their lives for Cæsar's pardon too:
But such conditions all great souls disdain;
He scorn'd to live to wear a tyrant's chain:
And to the last, he show'd too firm a soul,
For knaves to rule, or cruel sots control.
His godlike mind to freedom ever true,
Now prov'd its firmness, and it's greatness too:
For while he welter'd, bath'd in tepid gore,
And lay, unconscious, on the crimson'd floor,
The doctor came; with all his skill essay'd
To dress the wound which Cato's sword had made.
But when his hands the fearful work began,
His touch reviv'd the great, but dying man,
Whose sense return'd and rising undismay'd,
He thrust the doctor, and refus'd his aid:
With his own hands the gaping wound he tore,
And dash'd his entrails, smoking on the floor.
Resolv'd to leave a world where monarchs sway,
He went were kings could never force their way:
And while his soul enjoys celestial light,
Curs'd Cæsar groans in dark, infernal night.
As Cæsar's line have fill'd the world with blood,
And sail'd in triumph down the crimson flood;
My fancy follows the destructive tide,
To mark the scene where honest Lucius (47) died.
Gentle and mild, he led a harmless life,
Belov'd himself, he lov'd his friends and wife.
He liv'd on fruit, (48) and though possess'd of wealth,

He only wish'd for plenty, peace and health.
Well vers'd in maxims taught in stoic schools,
He polish'd man by useful, moral rules.
He practis'd strictly all the rules he taught,
And wise and upright he was justly thought!
Although his pow'rs of mind adorn'd the age,
To speak in (49) public he would not engage,
Lest truth, if told, [and he to truth was prone
Should give offence to him who fill'd the throne;
And draw the scepter'd slave's ungovern'd ire,
To use a monarch's logic, sword and fire.
Because with these he spread conviction round
The realm he govern'd, to its utmost bound.
Such cogent arguments could leave no doubt
All must believe, or have their brains knock'd out;
Or else be roasted, butcher'd, hang'd or rack'd;
Have houses burn'd, or towns and cities sack'd.
By such strong reasons kings convince their slaves,
That truth is false, and kings distinct from knaves.
For slaves would rather own that black is white,
Or be convinc'd that day itself is night,
Than fall by fire, or falchions reeking blade,
Or let the rack their trembling nerves invade.
But Lucius now was too well known to fame
To live in woods, and there confine his name:
It had already spread on loud report,
Throughout the realm, and through the Roman court.
Hence Nero's mother call'd the peaceful sage
To teach her son, until he reach'd his age.
And how to teach he knew, alas! too well

To live and rest where peace and safety dwell ;
Or live, secluded, far from strife and noise,
Rapacious monarchs, and thier gew-gaw toys.
With great reluctance forc'd to yield to pow'r
He left his peaceful and sequester'd bow'r,
To haunt the guilty labyrinths of court,
Where schemes of murder, form the schemer's sport.
This change, though great, with fortitude he bore ;
And train'd his pupil in scholastic lore.
While Nero learn'd his good preceptor's plan,
Men hop'd to see in him an honest man ;
And, had he follow'd where his master trod,
He would have been "the noblest work of God."
At first, death warrants did so much affright,
He sigh'd and wish'd he was untaught to write ;
But when his minions occupied his heart,
He then could act the bloody tyrant's part :
His wife, his mother, and ten thousand more,
He cooly murder'd though so good before :
Thus manifesting in the clearest way,
That man should never trust (50) monarchal sway ;
That pow'r corrupts, and cankering at the heart,
Leaves but the beastly, and obdurate part.
For though great Lucius, ever just and right,
Beheld his pupil with unfeign'd delight,
Imbibing precepts, which were well design'd,
To form a pure and conscientious mind,
Yet, lo ! how soon contaminating pow'r
Destroy'd his hopes, and cut the tender flower
Which he had nurs'd with constant skill and care,

And hop'd to render, useful, just and fair ;
But found, too late, that he had vainly sown
The seeds of justice, where they ne'er had grown ;
That in the walks, and loathsome haunts of kings,
The soil is such, that justice rarely springs :
And if perchance the fragrant plant should root,
Some haughty foot would soon destroy the shoot.
Now like a viper cruel Nero pays
The friends, who nurs'd him in his helpless days.
But Lucius fear'd, before he felt the sting,
The dreadful woes which too much pow'r would bring.
But few were free from apprehension then,
A common terror seiz'd the minds of men :
They lay in terror till the morning light ;
They liv'd in terror both in day and night.
One, lest a person whom he might offend,
Should wink of plots, and cause a tragic end :
Another, lest his kindred, heir or wife,
Should whisper treason to destroy his life :
For, then, a whisper fixt the fatal doom,
And brought great numbers to an early tomb.
Times so depraved, surrounded men with cares,
The fear of rivals, and the dread (51) of heirs.
Some, for estates, pronounc'd the fatal word,
And told of treason which they never heard.
There base revenge, with never ending ire,
Could see its victims burn in Nero's fire :
There snake-eyd envy mov'd with grov'ling soul,
To add good names to black proscription's roll,
Whatever passion ask'd another' death,

Employ'd the bane of some informer's breath,
Thus all had fears, and all had dangers too ;
Some hid for safety ; some for safety flew :
Alike unsafe were those who hid or fled ;
Some cringing minion brought the victim's head.
The hapless people, thus were kept in bay,
While carnage stalk'd, as blood pursued her way.
Some dreadful death, in dreadful shape, they fear'd ;
For death, in all his hidious forms appear'd.
The closest ties of nature seem'd dissolv'd ;
And all in thraldom's direful ills involv'd,
In times like those, the minds of men will change;
And vice will take a most unbounded range.
Familiar friends, or those in friendship's guise,
Like insects change, and take the shape of spies :
Whole swarms of reptiles from the nation spring,
And carry tales to please a vicious king.
With varied shapes, to cheat the watchful eye,
These base informers round each circle fly :
Eat at the table of their destin'd prey,
And bear some rash or alter'd phrase away;
Poison the solace of the fire-side. (52)
And all the comforts which mankind provide ;
In such a state, should not we think him blest,
Who lives in safety, and enjoys his rest.
At such a time, the generous sage desir'd,
To leave a court, where all the base conspir'd :
For times like those were seen in Nero's reign,
When Lucius begg'd to quit a servile train.
His friends advis'd him not to risk his life

But leave the court, and save himself and wife (53)
His wife was tall, was graceful, straight, and young,
And on her lips, the soft persuasions hung.
Harmonious features, form'd her lovely face,
And blended sweetness with majestic grace,
Her fine dark eyes were brilliant, soft, and kind,
And mark'd a soul, by soaring thought refin'd.
Her face was blooming, like the vernal rose,
Her neck in whiteness, like the fairest snows,
Her jetty hair, by silken fillets spread,
In graceful order, curl'd around her head;
Or down her back in flowing ringlets stray'd;
Or gently round her snowy bosom play'd.
Her lovely figure mov'd with graceful ease,
Her form and motion still combin'd to please.
With airy step, she pass'd like moving shade,
While youthful fancies sweetly round her play'd;
And smiling graces join'd the sportive throng,
And whisp'ring cupids, laughing, danc'd along.
And if she walk'd along the street or glade,
Each roving eye, with full delight survey'd;
And while the bosom swell'd with rapture strong,
The eyes pursu'd her as she moved along.
Her soul was equal to her lovely mein,
Accomplish'd, modest, prudent, and serene;
Her fertile, sound, and philosophic mind,
Was gentle, tender, social, chaste, and kind:
And when she spoke, her fine melodious tongue,
In sounds seraphic through her mansion rung.
Her voice was sweet, sonorous, soft, and clear;

Her song could charm the most perceptive ear:
And while the zephyrs roll'd her notes along,
The nymphs, with transport, heard her dulcet song.
The earth had thrice her oval course survey'd,
Since Lucius saw, and woo'd the dark eye'd maid;
And since the maid became his lovely wife,
In wedlock ties, they led a blissful life.
Both form'd for each, and each for bliss design'd,
Souls, more concordont, hymen never join'd.
Such happy systems seldom join their hands;
They meet too seldom in the nuptial bands.
Both made to please, and both to conquer, made;
But not by means which make mankind afraid;
But by their wisdom, goodness, wit, and charms.
These were their weapons, these their mighty arms.
These might have conquer'd all but regal power,
Which rais'd on blood, 'tis blood it must devour:
Like wolves, it gnaws the warm and panting breast,
And knows no pity for a world distress'd.
It hears, unmoved, the helpless orphan's cries;
Unmov'd, it hears, the weeping widow's sighs.
No goodness wins, nor stays its iron paw;
Its own desires prescribe its only law.
Like glutted dogs, too full to stand or lie,
It scowls around with fierce, malignant eye.
It owns no sense to taste of virtues joys,
And virtuous men, on some pretence destroys:
'Tis ever anxious, in the dust to lay,
Those men, whose goodness is their country's stay.
Now Seneca, from rural peace withheld.

Was kept at court, and 'gainst his will compell'd
To serve a tyrant, and in danger dwell,
And mix with minions, like the fiends of hell.
His apprehensions ev'ry day increas'd,
And ev'ry day, he wish'd to get releas'd:
At last, with joy, he reach'd his rural seat,
And rural comforts, hop'd in peace, to meet:
But private business, still his care requir'd;
From home he journey'd while his spouse retired
To muse in groves, and spend the pensive hours,
Beneath the shade of fragrant trees and bowers.
But when the time which he design'd to stay,
Had roll'd its lonely, tedious hours away,
She hoped again her faithful spouse to meet
Returning safely to his country seat.
But night approached and one day's hopes expired,
And then she slowly to her couch retired,
But soon as dawn had spread its early light,
Depress'd and weari'd by a sleepless night,
She rose, and quickly to her window flew,
To see if Lucius had arriv'd in view.
She fear'd some danger kept her spouse away,
This irksome night, and long, preceding day.
No Lucius came to cheer her longing eyes,
Until the sun had left the western skies.
Once more had Night resum'd her gloomy reign,
And spread her dews upon the verdant plain:
And friends, convened to see her spouse return
And hear such news as he might chance to learn,
were on the point of leaving her in tears,
When lo! the object of her love appears.

She sprang with joy, and palpitating heart,
To meet the one for whom she sigh'd apart:
She ask'd if danger caus'd him thus to stay,
He said, no danger had induced delay.
His joyful friends, now, each in turn did greet,
And welcome Lucius to his calm retreat.
And when the news which he had heard was told
To teach the young, and compliment the old,
The wit and humor, and the jest went round,
The pleasing story, and the lore profound.
But, while their words in cheerful tones did fall,
Loud knocks resounded through the sounding hall;
And in the midst of harmless joy and mirth,
In rush'd a band to give new crimes their birth.
They told brave Lucius he must soon prepare
To meet his death, for such their orders were.
Struck with the summons lo! his consort lies:
The big tears starting from her lovely eyes:
Those eyes grew dim: her rosy colour fled,
A deathly paleness o'er her beauty spread.
Those words like thunder sank her on the floor:
O! save, she cry'd, but could not utter more,
'Till nature, bursting from the hands of death,
Recall'd her senses, and restor'd her breath.
Then, looking round, and seeing all in tears,
She felt again the force of female fears.
Relaps'd, amid her weeping friends she lay:
Her lilly hands were cold as wintry clay.
And round her face the pores did now suffuse
Drops, cold and chilly as autumnal dues.

With solemn pause, with fears, and heart felt sighs,
Her friends stood round, and wip'd their tearful eyes.
Their bosoms felt the pangs of fear and grief,
While Lucius begg'd to give his spouse relief,
Her griefs he felt, nor other griefs would own ;
If death he fear'd, he fear'd for her alone.
When nature, conquering in this second strife,
Had twice recall'd his consort back to life,
She look'd for Lucius ; rais'd her drooping head ;
New spirits come, and to his arms she sped.
Her mournful eyes in pity seem'd to trace
Each lovely feature of his manly face.
And, while on him she cast the tenderest look,
Her tortur'd bosom, still convulsive shook,
In mournful silence still she view'd his face,
And tears of anguish, gushing, stream'd apace.
Till speech return'd, and then she fondly cried ;
No : death shall never, you and me divide !
If you must die, so must your consort too :
In life or death, I'll live or die with you :
Nor will I ever from my Lucius part,
But share his fortune, or protect his heart.
Sometimes, when grief gave indignation place,
She curs'd the Nero's, curs'd their stupid race :
Then try'd to move, and from her fluent tongue,
The softest strains of cogent reason rung.
But deaf to truth, and pity's plaintive strain,
As hungry wolves when bleating lambs complain,
They dragg'd her spouse to grope a dungeons gloom,
And lie in chains till death should fix his doom.

His pensive consort trac'd the dreary way,
And found the dungeon where her Lucius lay:
And as she enter'd, hearing clanking chains,
A thrilling coldness ran through all her veins,
Her tears flow'd faster, though so long undried,
O where is Lucius! sadly faint she cry'd,
They met together in the gloomy cell;
Together wept, and bade the world farewell.
The dungeons gloom renew'd the edge of grief:
I come, she sigh'd, I come without relief.
Alas! no hope, no ray of hope appears:
And death must shortly end these woes and tears.
Whatever death, appears to you the best,
Shall send us both to seek eternal rest.
But here she paus'd, her grief suppress'd her breath,
Her soul seem'd struggling in the arms of death.
With equal pain, he view'd his dearer part;
Her mournful anguish reach'd his manly heart.
With falt'ring voice, while tears bedew'd his eyes,
For thee, he cried, my sharpest sorrows rise:
Thou partner dear, forget thy cares, and live;
To thee this world, much pleasure yet may give:
The cruel tyrant can't survive me long:
His crimes increase, and make his foes more strong.
Endure to live, and see that pest die first,
By high and low, by all the nation, curs'd;
Perhaps well halter'd through the streets expos'd;
By injur'd crowds on ev'ry side enclos'd;
Beat, pelted, kick'd, before the public eye;
Asham'd to live, and yet afraid to die,

'Till crowds, enrag'd, shall rend his limbs apart;
And end this pest to ev'ry feeling heart.
Speak not of joy, the gen'rous fair replied,
How many tyrants have already died.
If Nero falls, some other prince will rise
To slay the righteous, and destroy the wise;
And thus, this world, where all the just are slain;
Will torture life as long as kings shall reign:
And if you die, my comfort, soul, and friend,
Then joys must cease, and then my life shall end.
She thus resolv'd, when Lucius met his doom,
To die; and rest within her husband's tomb:
And, while he bled, before his final breath,
She pierc'd her veins, and hop'd to sleep in death
But lay unconscious, when the doctors came,
And sav'd her ling'ring, just departing flame:
And, though preserv'd, she blam'd pragmatic skill
For saving life against the owner's will:
And 'till her death, her pallid cheek could show
The mark of wrong, and monument of woe.
No skill, no art, nor friend of man, could save,
The guiltless Lucius from an early grave.
He sought retirement; but he sought in vain;
The stupid Nero wish'd to see him slain.
And, hence, soon after he had left the court,
That restless tyrant spread some false report
Of plots, conspiracies, or secret plans;
These form'd a pretext for unjust commands.
With these accus'd, the sage was doom'd to death:
With stoic firmness, he resign'd his breath:

For, while his blood was leaving ev'ry vein,
He taught his friends, and bade them not complain.
With kind instructions, thus their griefs allay'd;
And said, the just ought not to be dismay'd:
But, being righteous, bravely yield their breath;
And feel no terrors at approaching death.
The guilty wretch alone, has cause to dread,
The dismal regions of the guilty dead.
While thus he spoke, his blood in streams did flow;
And much he wish'd to leave this world of woe.
And hence he ask'd for some destructive bane,
To end his ling'ring and tormenting pain.
The baneful drug, the doctor soon procur'd,
To end the pangs his patient friend endur'd.
But this prov'd fruitless: and the bath was tried;
And in it's streams, the honest Lucius died.
Thus died a sage, so gentle, kind, and just,
His name will flourish though he sleep in dust.
The sight of Lucius! gasping bath'd in gore,
Made many weep who seldom wept before:
Caus'd them to know what evils monarchs cause,
And curse those foes to just and equal laws.
Though abler pens may take a bolder flight;
Doubt not, O reader, of the truths I write.
Much more indeed, the just historian told;
And shocking truths, his useful books unfold.
And yet, one half, historians dare not tell;
Who censures tyrants where the tyrants dwell?
But still, for modesty, too much is told:
She blushes often as the leaves unfold:

Too much, humanity sheds tears of grief,
Wipes her wet eyes, and turns the sprinkl'd leaf
To much, for liberty, with grief oppress'd,
Deplores the wrongs which rob her sons of rest;
Looks mournful o'er her faithful patriots slain,
And sighs for thousands, scatter'd o'er the plain.
If those who paint the ruin kings have made,
Through towns of fire, and seas of blood could wade.
They might pourtray, as far as words can show,
The dreadful evils which from monarchs flow.
But fancy fails, and language seems too weak;
And mind itself must feel asham'd to speak
What kings have done; and what they still will do,
As long as many stoop to serve the few.

PART II.

From ancient Nimrod, down to present time,
Trace ev'ry king, of every age and clime,
Search ev'ry line and nation, race and throne;
And find a monarch, virtue deigns to own:
For I have search'd, but search'd, alas, in vain
To find a king, without a spot or stain. (54)
But few, indeed, of all the kingly race
Have justly liv'd, or died without disgrace.
For kings are worse than others here on earth;
And always have been even from their birth.
For proofs of this, attend while I relate
The cause of this most wretched regal state.
By wrongs, at first, all royal thrones appear;
And grow more vicious each succeeding year.
Would any one invest a man with power,
To cut his throat, the next or present hour?
Would man, for money, want a bond or note;
And ask no surety (55) to protect his throat?
No mind, if sound, would act this stupid part,
Unless deceiv'd by some perfidious art:
And, if deceiv'd, consent could give no right,
To take from nations, all that gives delight:
Because, by law, no wilful frauds create,
A legal title to the least estate.
If one unbias'd, ask a king to reign,

It proves unsoundness in his mind or brain:
And one, non compos, is by law restrain'd
From granting that, which he has justly gain'd:
And surely ideots, (56) who could not create
A private deed, could not transfer a state:
And hence, consent could give no royal stirp,
A right to powers, which regal knaves usurp.
Thus royal stocks, at first, incur disgrace,
And send their sins, augmenting, down each race:
For, though some better, some much worse may reign,
Each last half line, are most deprav'd or vain.
In other words, as royal stocks are curst,
Their last descendants still out-knave the first.
The reason is, their great excesses end
In some distempers, which to sons descend.
And thus, their sons receiv'd from sottish sires,
Imperfect organs, fill'd with vile desires.
Because, that kings are free from all restrainsts,
They yield to causes which produce complaints:
They yield to fear, excess, and idle pains;
These cause distempers, and impair their brains.
Inaction, fear, excess, and care would bring
The worst diseases on the stoutest king.
The body wastes, by mental pain or care;
And pain of body, must the mind impair.
They are, indeed, by ties so close combin'd,
Mind wastes the system, system wastes the mind.
Like mutual friends, they feel each other's pain;
And both will go the moment one is slain.
The smallest wounds, in some degree, will grieve;

And though we can't, their small effects perceive,
Yet more or less, they irritate the man,
Affect his mind, and cut his vital span.
If mind and body, are so closely join'd,
That wounds and scratches must effect the mind;
Then how much more would fierce distemper's pain,
Impair the texture of the human brain;
Exhaust the spirits, send through ev'ry part,
The morbid humors through the human heart;
To make men peevish, cruel, weak, or dull,
A savage monster, or a sickly gull.
From want of checks, the first distemper springs,
And flows increasing, down the line of kings:
Until at length, a race of kings are seen,
With shapes as ugly as their minds are mean.
With small exceptions, parents always find
Their children like them, both in form and mind;
That is to say, like male or female line;
Or mixt with both, if both their natures join.
But lest this truth should raise a single doubt,
Permit me here, to point the causes out:
The parent's blood must surely form the child,
And if corrupt, the infant is defil'd.
For through their blood, the vicious humours flow;
And therefore, children like their parents grow.
A second cause, to aid the cause above,
May spring from hatred, or may rise from love.
The strong impressions, on the mother's mind,
With fancy's busy, secret powers combin'd.
May lend the mother their mysterious aid,
To mould the clay, with which the child is made;

And form the brain and person like the sire;
And fill that person with a like desire.
For mark this truth, nor smile at what you hear;
Where children's persons, like their sires appear,
An equal likeness in their minds will lie,
Although unseen by ev'ry vulgar eye.
But that resemblance, form'd in minds ally'd,
Instruction, habit, place, or chance may hide.
A monarch's vices, hence, to heirs must flow,
And run, increasing, like a ball of snow.
For weak and checkless princes gravitate,
To all the follies, vicious men create.
Besides the vice, to which by nature prone;
They add the habits which surround a throne.
First dipp'd in sin, before their reason rules,
Then, led to crimes, amid the shouts of fools.
The sickly food of morbid debauchee,
With inbred vices, from restraint set free.
Young princes hear the servile knaves at court,
And think all men were made to give them sport.
They show in youth, the ill effects of birth,
And hurl their slaughters, round the troubl'd earth.
Their father's madness fills their youthful veins;
Guides all their steps, and even boyhood stains.
Hence, princes rise, to take their parents lives,
Or murder brothers, sisters, friends, or wives.
If sires and mothers can't their wrath assuage,
Then how can others hope to shun their rage?
If, by their wrath, their nearest kindred fall,
On kings for mercy, 'tis in vain to call.
An act, which others would be shock'd to hear,

A prince commits without a sigh or tear:
Thus mean Caracalla, with vile desire,
Unsheath'd his sword, to slay his aged sire.
With stealthy pace, he walk'd along behind,
To give the stroke his cruel heart design'd:
But, guards beheld, and stopp'd the shameful blow,
Which aim'd to lay the thoughtless father low.
Severus (57) knew what crimes this fiend had done;
Yet left his crown to this infernal son,
Who bath'd his hands within a brother's blood,
And drench'd the empire in a crimson flood.
See Chosroes, (58) Selim, (59) or Supurbus' wife, (60)
Prepensely take a scepter'd parent's life:
Not only these; see many more destroy'd,
By those assassins, whom their sons employ'd.
Assyrians, Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Medes,
Had princes also, who perform'd like deeds;
Their fears and passions kindl'd such desires,
That sires slay sons, and sons destroy their sires;
Brothers slay brothers, sisters, sisters slay;
Uncles kill nephews, or became their pray;
Wives destroy husbands, husbands murder wives;
Mother with son, and sire with daughter strives.
Witness a prince (61) of the Asmonæan race,
Who starv'd his mother while he fill'd her place.
So Antipater, (62) Ninyas, (63) Physcon's (64) son,
And savage Herod, (65) show what crowns have done,
Three, slew the mothers who had brought them life;
The fourth, destroy'd his guiltless sons and wife.
And if we credit what historians wrote,

The monster, Physcon, (66) cut his infant's throat;
And sent it thus, without the least remorse,
To shock his consort by the mangl'd corse.
A box enclos'd it; and the mother queen
Grew dumb with horror when the sight was seen.
Monarchs extoll'd, and even surnam'd great,
Have doom'd their children to as hard a fate.
Their children too, without a cause assign'd,
Or cause untrue, were to their fate resign'd.
This, Constantine, (67) and Russian Peter, (68) prove,
Whom no compassion for their sons could move.
By these, call'd great, and surely great in pride,
Their offspring, Crispus, and Alexci, died.
Some other surname suits such monsters best;
As other names which kings have borne attest.
Instead of great, infernal, if apply'd,
Would suit the matri, patri, fratricide.
So cruel, (69) bloody, Charles the weak, the blind,
Are names well suited to a princely mind.
And hence, though pious, great, or wise, were used,
It only shews, how names were then abus'd,
In scorn or fear, such names are given at first,
And, "given (70) by God," denominates the worst.
Ironic names, it seems, were oft apply'd:
Thus Philadelphus (71) means a fratricide:
And Philopater, if I rightly ween,
Some princely parricide, was used to mean.
See Otho's (72) son, or Henry's (73) sons conspire
Against their country, and against their sire:
See hundreds more, with mad ambition's rage,

Against their sires, the bloody conflict wage.
So England's monarchs snatch'd the crown they wore,
With hands, still reeking in their kindred's gore.
This England saw, and yet so lost to shame,
Her sons supported an assassin's claim;
And, with a felon for their chief, could sing,
We fight for honor, and our gracious king.
But how absurd, is such an abject host;
As well might burglars of their honor boast:
As well might harlots prate of manners chaste,
As nations boast, when thus, by crimes disgrac'd.
If honour means a breach of other's right,
The thief pursues it, through the gloom of night.
If not in wrong, a nation's honor lies
In acts which prove them faithful, just, and wise;
Just to themselves, and other nations too;
To freedom constant, and to conscience true;
In counsel wise, by reason ever led;
In plenty frugal, and by crimes unfed:
Not proud, yet brave, whenever foes appear,
Not rais'd by fortune, nor depress'd by fear.
We honor states, when thus through virtue bold;
Not those enrich'd by plunder'd heaps of gold;
Nor those too faithless for the smallest trust,
Whose wealth, though boundless, can't appease their lust:
Who discontented, when with plenty fed;
And curst, when gold, throughout the realm has spread.
Foreseeing woes, which ev'ry monarch brings
The worst alone would ask the power of kings.

The wise and good despise the empty name;
They laugh at baubles, titles, pomp, and fame.
They never wish the many much oppress'd,
To see the few with pomp and wealth distress'd.
They never make their fellow creatures slaves,
Nor send them mangl'd to untimely graves.
But names and titles, little minds can please:
For them they barter safety, peace, and ease:
And still contentless, though with wealth possess'd,
For sounds or shadows rob a world of rest.
Alas what narrow, sordid minds they own!
Who love such toys, or for such baubles moan!
The wise commit no wrong, nor barter peace,
To make their troubles, fears, and wants increase:
But love their cottage more than public halls,
And rest in quiet, till their country calls.
To serve their country, they would not refuse,
Lest those in office should their power misuse.
But little minds, devoid of shame, obtrude,
And better men, by foul intrigue exclude.
Hence kings untaught in reason's peaceful bower,
Though curs'd with folly, rule with sovereign power.
Though savage, dull, or void of common sense,
Yet ev'ry despot claims omnipotence:
A man, scarce fit to have the care of swine,
Is dubb'd a king, and calls his power divine.
Can human fancy draw a stranger scene,
Or picture beings more absurd or mean,
Than men, who dance behind a monarch's heels!
Or run like dogs behind his chariot wheels!

Yet slavish crowds obey a fool's command,
And watch and wait to kiss the blockhead's hand;]
Run here, and there, as whim or folly drives,
To rob the state, or sport with human lives.
That crowds should run to please a knave or fool,
Or boy, unfit to act his part at school,
Is monstrous strange; and seems to abstract view,
An act of meanness, which no race would do.
For in the abstract, what is more abstruse,
Than nations yielding to the vile abuse
Of rogues or boys, whom nature scarcely made
With sense enough to learn the plainest trade:
Or made too hard to feed a herd of swine,
To drive a team, or tend the lowing kine.
A man may vainly think his talents great,
Because he heads the knaves who rob the state:
Yet low deceit, or chance may place him there,
With no more talents, than an ape or bear.
But though his work is all perform'd by tools,
Who meanly serve to gain estates by fools:
And though he differs from the crowd he leads,
In fortune merely, or more savage deeds;
Still minions think their master's talents shine,
If circumstances aid his base design;
And give success to plans, (74) which often show,
How little those, who execute them know,
When wealth and sceptres lead the dunce their aid
He takes the praise of plans, which others laid.
He keeps aloof, and shuns familiar ways,
And like the moon, appears in borrow'd rays.

Thus, splendour hides the dullest soul from sight,
And round a booby (75) casts a blaze of light.
Hence crowds are cheated, who behold a far,
A sceptr'd scoundrel on a glitt'ring car.
  See warlike stores from ev'ry province drain'd,
And men and money from all parts obtain'd:
Crowd after crowd to yonder camp are led;
And idly kept accoutred, dress'd and fed;
'Till half the state in tented shelters lie;
In fields of battle doom'd perhaps to die:
And all for what, alas! who knows the use
Of crowds, contending to amuse a goose,
Or, what, in reason, seems the selfsame thing,
A dunce (76) or schoolboy, dubb'd a gracious king.
  'Tis hard, that men, with scarce an ounce of brains,
Should lead their betters meanly round the plains:
'Tis hard, to see the work of many hands
Profusely wasted through a blockhead's plans: (77)
Yet kings, we see, with scarce a grain of sense,
Can waste what millions gain'd at vast expence.
  The basest state is that which foily craves,
Where one is free, and all the rest are slaves.
Nay, where that one enslav'd to vice and pride,
Knows not how smoothly peace and virtue glide:
But stands enclos'd by constant fears and cares,
And trembling, sweats beneath the pomp he wears.
Such gaudy slaves for trifles waste their days,
As soldiers fight, and waste their lives for praise.
  These stupid kings are so befool'd with pow'r,
They use the plural pronouns we and our;

Instead of words, which other persons use,
And, which all others in their senses choose,
To say, ourself, our people, sounds so queer,
It makes the critic, and the freeman sneer:
The critic, jeering, asks how many kings;
The freeman, frowning, asks if men are things,
Which kings may own, or justly buy with gold,
Can man be justly either bought or sold!
No, free by nature, bargain, sale or might
Can never transfer man's inherent right:
The right of kings to those they call their own,
Is, like the robber's; bought with force alone.
But grant that reason should, by chance, remain
The transient tenant of the monarch's brain;
Yet how can kings, by crowds of minions press'd,
Discover wrongs, or see those wrongs redress'd.
The strong commit, or else approve those deeds,
From which the subject's loss or woe proceeds;
But they alone, around the king appear:
The poorer subject he disdains to hear.
He sits, enthron'd amidst his noble slaves,
And forms a cone of proud, rapacious knaves,
Which has, throughout, its mark'd degrees of crime:
The most enormous to its zenith clime.
The subject groans beneath its spreading base;
Press'd doom to earth, he moans his hapless case.
And such is this prodigious cone of guilt,
Which blood and treasure, wrongs and woes have built;
But few, indeed, could reach the monarch's ear,
Were he dispos'd the subjects plaint to hear:

But few in safety climb the steep ascent;
But few attempt it, yet those few repent.
The treach'rous slaves, who watch the dreadful steep,
Make suitors tremble, as they upwards creep:
And those, not tumbl'd headlong down, will find
A surly monarch, prepossess'd in mind.
For though his lords do not like friends unite,
The poorer subject, they combine to slight.
Go injur'd peasants! and of wrongs complain,
To winds or tides, to rocks or raging main.
The winds or tides would smoothly pass along;
And add no insult, to outrageous wrong.
But stupid nobles count it monstrous base,
To hear a peasant, or defend his case.
What! shall a peasant jeopardize his lord?
And some foul deed against his name record?
Were this allow'd, how many lords would feel
The penal lash for crimes they now conceal,
For lords pretend that those who drudge and toil,
Belong to men, whose rapine seiz'd the soil:
Yet those could live if all such men were dead:
But these depend upon the peasants' bread.

In states where kings and lords have had their sw
What laws prevail'd, and what abuses say:
They valu'd peasants, as they valu'd kine,
And he who kill'd them paid a trifling fine. (78)
And then the peasant with the soil was sold;
And held in bondage on his native mould;
Forbade to leave the tract, which gave him birth
And kept half starv'd upon his native earth.

Then crimes were hid, and men were doom'd to moan
And die in cells; where none could hear them groan.
The peasant's daughter, whom a lord defil'd,
In silence pining, bore her infant child.
Her injur'd parents saw her secret woe,
Afraid to seek the proud, vindictive foe,
Who robb'd, by force, the maid of virgin charms;
And left his child to load her feeble arms.
And there the tender, fond, believing maid,
Whom pow'r abus'd or cruel art betray'd,
In want and sickness, press'd her lonely bed,
In secret cells, where many a one had bled:
And where her wrongs could not obtain redress;
Nor pity come to mitigate distress.
For thus the weak, but harmless female lay
Unjustly scorn'd and wept her life away;
Without a friend to wipe her aching eye;
Or sooth her woes by one unharsh reply:
No, not a friend, though all the power of grief,
Besieg'd such hearts as need the most relief.
So inaccessible each monarch sits,
With minions, watching, all his whims and fits;
If envy, fear, suspicion, lusts or hate,
Should raise a spark within the royal pate,
Some artful tool his masters ears engage;
And blow the spark up into tenfold rage:
Then, on the spur, as folly apes the god,
He passes sentence with a careless nod:
And yet will not, by careless nods, revoke
To save the guiltless from the fatal stroke.

Here innocence is doom'd unheard, to feel
The worst of torment on the torturing wheel.
But virtue most excites the fear and hate
Of those, (79) who reign in each monarchal state.
They know that virtue must their deeds detest;
And hence their fear of those they deem the best.
To punish these [who seldom scape their foes
Unless they bend beneath a load of woes]
Some cruel fiend is always near command,
With axe uplifted in his blood stain'd hand,
To execute the mean, unjust decree,
By which a tyrant sets his subjects free.
Of all the evils wars and frauds can bring,
The greatest evil is a prince or king.
Let nations rather, in defence, be slain,
Than once submit to bear a monarch's reign.
Yes, let them fight till not a man remains,
To bear the tidings from the sanguine plains.
For this is better than to live in pain;
Or let a king the smallest footing gain.
From one small seed a thousand more may spring
And distant times may reap the fruit they bring.
So, raise one king, and thousands more may breed,
To make a thousand gloomy ages bleed.
For pow'r once gain'd itself perpetuates,
By crushing virtue, and corrupting states;
By pulling all the patriotic down,
And raising priests and lords to prop the crown.
Thus if the just must conquer, fall or fly,
The just should conquer, and the traitors die.

'Tis better these should die as foes to laws,
Than those who fight in freedom's righteous cause.
The foes of man the laws, at least, should bind;
And friends (80) to kings, are foes to all mankind;
Nay, friends to kings, are traitors to the state,
And well deserve a nation's utmost hate.

The ills of anarchy are small to those,
Which stupid kings on abject slaves impose.
Though in the first some few perhaps may fall,
The last extends its dreadful woes to all.
With anarchs, struggling till our latest breath,
Hope gently bears us to a single death:
But thraldom brings a thousand deaths to man,
Without one hope to cheer life's gloomy span.
In this, our woes are not so quickly pass'd;
We live to suffer, yet must die at last.
More men are lost within a monarch's reign,
Than what the vilest anarchies (81) have slain.
Poisons and dungeons, fire and torturing steel,
Racks, saws and gibbits, and the groaning wheel,
Are all employ'd, when kings and princes reign,
Till mountains rise with heaps of mangl'd slain.
This list, though large, is still the smaller part
Of engines us'd to please the tyrant's heart;
And, by the most abhor'd, inhuman skill,
Inflict death's pangs, and yet refuse to kill
Until the fiends, who yawn on golden thrones,
Have heard their music in long sighs and groans,
Have laugh'd at agony's convulsive throes;
And rack'd the mind, by sporting with its woes;

Till torture, led through ev'ry nerve by art,
Is forc'd, at last, to tear the vital part :
Then souls, unfetter'd, quit their mortal clay ;
And kings suspend it near the public way.
O shameful sight ! but kings delight to see
Men falling peacemeal (82) from the pale or tree
For thus insatiate, they pursue their game ;
And wreak their malice on the lifeless frame.
But then their arts, and brutal rage are vain,
In spite of monarchs death will limit pain.
Torture !!!
The virtuous madden even at the name !
And rise and sink with sorrow, rage and shame !
But at the view, all feeling men would rave,
Weep, swell, and stamp, and curse the royal knave
For who could calmly view the horrid deed,
And on the sight like royal despots feed !
He is not man ! for men within the view
Of torture, weep, and curse its authors too.
To think that man will make himself a beast !
And, like a fiend, on human torments feast !
'Tis so disgustful, men of human sense
Invoke their God to send such monsters hence.
When men shall forfeit their existence here
Then let them die, but not by means severe :
For that's presumption in the eyes of God ;
A base attempt to seize his mighty rod.
As God knows best what men's offences are,
Let death arrest, and send for trial there,
Where stricter justice will to all be giv'n,

And those, now tortur'd, plac'd perhaps in heav'n.
If God, who sees and knows the human heart,
Can equal pains to equal crimes, impart,
Then how unjust for erring man to try
To torture those, whom they have doom'd to die.
Where pain is useless, there at least, be kind:
Revenge is mean, and shows a brutal mind.
No man returns when once depriv'd of breath,
Why torture, therefore, at the hour of death?
By monarchs robb'd of all their gain and wealth,
The poor are forc'd to live by crimes or stealth:
And to suppress them, kings, although the cause,
Make use of racks in spite of reason's laws,
But milder death would crimes and wrongs suppress
If useless kings did not augment distress.
But torture us'd some secret plots to find,
Is most degrading to the human kind.
Tis then humanity grows sick of life,
Condemns the world, and longs to leave its strife.
What! torture men to ascertain offence,
O where was pity, where was common sense?
To hang a man before his guilt is known,
Is quite unjust, all men of sense must own.
But first to rack, and then enquire for crimes,
Is worse than death; 'tis death ten thousand times.
A man is punish'd till depriv'd of sense;
And then is ask'd now what is your offence?
The guiltless man, through pain, would scream O yes
Without reflection, or to end distress.
And what must follow? why the royal pest.

Condemns the man because his tongue confess'd !
And not because his guilt or crimes were prov'd :
For guilty men are not so quickly mov'd.
The nicer sense of honest men can feel
The smallest inroads of the dreadful steel.
Their tender nerves are form'd of finer mould ;
Too fine to wrong for titles, fame or gold.
But nerves, too nice to hurt one human sense,
Feel more acutely, when their pains commence :
Hence hardy rogues, with nerves as hard as steel,
May bear the rack, and yet no crimes reveal :
While blameless men, who never thought of wrong
Could not endure such dreadful tortures long ;
Nor bear those racks, which rend the nerves apart,
And force confessions from the honest heart.
And, therefore, none except the worst survive,
When try'd by means, which cruel kings contrive.
And where kings rule, (83) the rack becomes the lot
Of men accus'd of any crime or plot.
There, man fears man, and daily dreads the worst
Of all the pains with which the world is curs'd :
A breath destroys ; for there, accuse the just,
And racks will tear, and grind their limbs to dust :
Until they own what none perhaps had done :
And if they should, new tortures are begun.
For thus the men, whom monarchs doom to die
Must twice at least, in dreadful tortures lie.
'Tis there a crime to have a nerve of sense,
Which can't bear torture, nor commit offence :
But such perhaps are in the tyrant's way,

And yet withhold some mean excuse to slay :
'Till racks, by tearing all the joints apart,
Wring false confessions (84) from the aching heart.
Thus are the woes, which plague this painful life
Increas'd by monarchs, and by regal strife.
These fools forget that they have forms of clay ;
And that such forms will quickly pass away :
And that renascent bodies rise again,
Through endless changes sharing equal pain.
For matter here for ever fluctuates
Through all conditions, places, forms and states.
And hence of ills which animation bears,
Each lump of clay an equal portion shares.
And men have surely very senseless brains,
Whose wrongful deeds increase the sum of pains.
Reduce the ills of this terrestrial state,
No atom's share will thenceforth be so great.
The savage loon, who tortures man to-day,
May die to-morrow in a semblant way.
And those who waste through wicked, wanton lust,
May yet be beggars, crawling through the dust.
Our clay through life must always ebb and flow ;
Yet savage blockheads add to human woe.
But if our bodies rise to life again,
The wise will surely not augment our pain.
And, whether souls are punish'd there or here,
He is a fool, who renders life severe.
The smallest reptile, which pervades the dirt
The meanest earthborn thing should not be hurt ;
Unless necessity compels to slay,

And then to kill employ the mildest way.
This reason teaches; this the soul desires;
This God commands, and good of man requires.
The wise no torment wantonly dispense
To any creature, which has life or sense.
All creatures God commits to human care;
And all of these our pity ought to share.
And he, who plagues a beast without good cause,
Is but a beast; but lacks the hoofs or claws.
'Tis surely not the great Jehovah's plan,
To arm such villains with the brain *of* man:
Why give the means to do licentious wrong?
Let knaves be weak, and let the good be strong.
Where chance or fortune gives such monsters arms
They torture life, and fill the world with harms.
Of all the gems which deck the human breast,
Unfeign'd (85) compassion still becomes it best.
Nothing more useful has its dwelling there;
Nothing more lovely can adorn the fair.
What greater gift could heaven itself bestow,
When from it blessings through all nature flow?
If all possess'd it, all would find repose:
For virtue rests, where pure compassion glows.
O blest compassion, ev'ry creature's sense!
It feels for all, and all draw blessings thence:
Feels others wants, and moves with heavenly zeal
To end the woes, which men or nations feel.
Nay, longs to see the drowning fly releas'd;
And cures with joy the pains of man or beast.
But cruel men will still delight to wrong,

Both man and beast, and all their woes prolong.
They neither move to serve the common weal,
Nor bate one pang which other mortals feel.
Self love conducts them, this, their only guide,
Conducts the wolf, and ev'ry brute beside.
But cruel deeds are inconsistent too,
With all religion that is just or true.
Frequenting churches, therefore can't excuse :
Nor save one soul, whom cruel deeds amuse.
No, though they pray'd at church three times a day,
It could not wipe so foul a stain away.
And, therefore, christian, pagan, jew and turk,
Should act with mercy in their daily work.
Without it, all religious rites (86) are vain :
Without it, none can be exempt from pain.
Can men be sav'd, whom cruelty delights,
Because they cheat the crowd by useless rites ?
If cruel men for future mercy call,
And thus receive what they deny'd to all ;
Then, notwithstanding all the wrongs they do,
All men will find a sure salvation too.
But nature, speaking, says it can't be so ;
Man can't do wrong, and yet unpunish'd go.
If man be fix'd forever here on earth,
Its wrongs will punish those, who gave them birth :
For when they rise to light and life again,
Their wrong's (87) descendants must produce their pain.
For bad examples prompt to evil deeds :
Hence, wrong from wrong, and crime from crime proceeds.
All unbelievers, therefore, ought to know

That they at least, should never fail to shew
To ev'ry creature, which may feel distress,
A fear to injure and a wish to bless.
Nor have the orthodox less cause to fear,
Whose wilful crimes before their God appear.
If crimes are number'd by omniscient eyes,
And at the awful day of judgment rise,
To measure out each culprit's length of pain,
How vast the torment, and how small the gain.
In short, whatever future state may be,
All men, if men their interest could see,
Would use their power to lessen ev'ry grief,
And give each sense within their reach relief:
Would ease life's pains, wherever life is found,
On sea and land, in water, air, and ground,
For thus would man, avoid those shameful crimes,
Which somewhere bring the pains of future times.
No matter when, nor where these pains arise:
If here, in hell, or far beyond the skies:
By just procedure, man would 'scape them all,
And gently down the ebbing current fall.
Would shun the rocks and gulfs on either side,
Along the stream of life's eventful tide.

As most of all the ills and woes of man,
Result from schemes, which kings or monarchs plan;
The first great duty which to man we owe,
Is that which lays these haughty blockheads low.
For he who bends, and regal power obeys,
Should not expect in peace to end his days.

Peace makes the friends of human rights increase
Hence monarchs dread the joyful days of peace:
And kindle war, if not for useless fame,
To make the people abject, poor and tame;
That they may rule them, as their whims incline;
And prate of grace, and call their power divine.
But men, not lost to ev'ry sense of shame,
Would not insult us with so false a claim.
Such strange relations can't subsist between
The purest being and the most obscene.
But if we credit what these kings relate,
The might suppose they fix'd the laws of fate;
Conducted comets through the boundless sky,
And fix'd the suns, and caus'd the moons to fly;
With countless systems fill'd the vast expance,
And bade the planets round their suns advance;
Link'd all the orbs which fill the starry sky,
By strong attraction's wondrous, mistic tie;
Made suns, like hearts, distribute cordial fires
To warm each system, just as health requires:
And next, on earth, display'd their plastic powers,
And fix'd the laws of herbage, trees, and flowers,
Gave trees and plants, and all the brutes we find,
The power to grow and propagate their kind;
Impress'd each seed with certain laws to guide
The germ, which issues from its op'ning side;
To form the plant exactly like its sire,
And draw sweet juices from the filthy mire.
Some kings indeed have try'd to rule the waves,
But found them less obsequious than slaves.

They caus'd mankind in late and former days,
With fulsome rites to solemnize their praise.
And yet these kings, or rather would (88) be gods,
Are merely men, and soon must turn to clods.
They would be gods, but can't control the gnat,
Thich flies about, and dines on royal fat.
The very tenure, under which they claim
Proves all usurpers, who have borne the name:
Yes, monarchs, sophis, sultans, czars and kings,
Are all usurpers, and illegal things:
For legal acts beget no kings on earth,
Hence kings are not legitimate in birth.

If men are either slaves or tyrants here,
They toil in anguish, or exist in fear.
If such are wretched, let their wretched state
Teach you, O freemen, ere it be too late.
With constant zeal, O guard each sacred right,
And save your children from monarchal night.
Be always watchful; know your present bliss,
And from your councils, ev'ry knave dismiss,
If some are worthy, yet examples dread;
With too much power, invest no human head.
The wise, who know that men are apt to slide
To cruel deeds, ambition, pomp, and pride,
Will give no power which they can't divest,
Nor trust too far, those even deem'd the best.
They trust no power which they might revoke.
To bend their necks beneath the galling yoke:
But edg'd with virtue's just, indignant ire,

Would wade through blood where human rights require:
Would fight their way to equal laws or death;
And curse their tyrants with their latest breath.
O slaves, why linger! seek repose in graves;
Or break your chains, and be no longer slaves.
Dismiss your fears, your childish doubts divest;
And be no more the tyrant's scorn and jest;
But read the wise and true historic page,
It speaks of man, in ev'ry clime and age.
It is your duty, ev'ry man should read,
Who hopes to live, or wishes not to bleed.
For ev'ry man, in ev'ry state, should know
What ills men suffer, and from whence they flow.
He then would break the diadem in twain,
Crush the soft scull, and pierce the wearer's brain;
Dash the fell monster to his place below,
And triumph bravely on his country's foe.
And next attack the parasitic crew,
By whose support, the savage monarch grew;
Drive to despair, the cringing reptile band,
And snatch the people from oppression's hand.
And then without the least regret could say,
I free'd my country from despotic sway.
O dearest freedom! he who knows thy worth,
Would rather lie in cold, oblivious earth,
Than live to slave for men uncurb'd by laws,
Or live in dread of monarchs, racks, and saws.
For when the pomp of despotism shines,
All nature sickens, withers, and declines.
Its sultry night, is harder still to bear.

Than what the storms of wild commotion are.
No prudence shields us from its dreadful heat;
It follows virtue to the lone retreat;
Pervades the grot, the lonely hill and dale,
The lofty mountain, and the lowly vale.
It leaves no place where Catos may repose;
Or patriots tell their long lamented woes;
It leaves no pillow for the weary head
It visits justice in her humble shed;
Pursues each Sidney from his country far;
And finds few Ludlows (90) too remote to mar.
Such is the heat of this infernal night,
And such is despotism's dismal plight,
The stoutest patriotism feels despair,
And, dying, scorns a base existence there.
If therefore, men must suffer evil things;
'Twere better, anarchy should reign than kings.
For both will reign where men erect a throne:
Feuds come with kings, and kings with feuds alone.
For kings have caus'd the worst, anarchal state,
That man can suffer, or my pen relate,
And this the world's instructive annals tell:
For lo! how Montford, (91) York, (92) and Warwick, (93) fell;
How Richard, (94) Lincoln, (95) Gray (96) and Monmouth, (97) died;
And millions more, who might be nam'd beside:
They died in tumults, caus'd by queens and kings;
From them alone eternal discord springs.
In all the realms on this terraqueous sphere,

The marks of royal discord still appear:
Towns laid in ruins; countries laid in waste;
Man left a savage, nature's self debas'd,
Are marks of monarchs, though not always known,
But trac'd will lead us to a royal throne.
A tyrant's tools, still meeting some reward
For crimes perform'd to serve their savage lord:
And vile injustice, still before their eyes,
And long successful must familiarize
Most men to crimes; and crimes replete with woe:
As Alexander's (99) crucifixions show.
The Jews have witness'd what corruption springs
From those foul monsters, princes, wars and kings.
Lo! nations ruin'd, wasted, turn'd to thieves;
And acting what no mind unread, believes.
For see the Jews, with kingly rage inflam'd,
Perform such tragedies for titles claim'd;
That men grow hard by seeing licenc'd guilt,
And human blood by crown'd assassins spilt,
By seeing men commit, in virtue's name,
Most cruel murders, free from dread or shame:
But now deprav'd by monarchs crimes, and sins,
The Jews turn thieves, (100) and civil war begins.
Virtue at last is call'd an empty name;
And deem'd a mask to cheat the weak and tame:
With mutual hatred, kindred, kindred meet,
Justice deride, and goodness call a cheat;
Devour (101) their children, plunder friends and foes;
And fill their country with unnatural woes.
And thus they rage like men devoid of sense,

'Till other wars, and other ills commence :
'Till foreign war, like some resistless flood,
Broke down their walls, and steep'd their towns in blood :
With one wide ruin crush'd unjust and just ;
And laid their pride, and mighty tow'rs in dust.
To these dire feuds and others nam'd before,
I might add thousands for there's thousands more.
The same fell spirit, though forgot, has been
Wherever marks of moral ills are seen.
That spirit, too, though sometimes cloak'd, still reigns
Where wasteful war pollutes a nation's plains.
That spirit despotism, (102) still the same,-
Whate'er its country, or whate'er its name,
Is trac'd by blood ; her steps are mark'd with gore,
With bleaching bones, or sights unseen before :
Most dismal sights, where all that's sad appear ;
And all that's hateful to the nose or ear :
Where ancient ruins strew the lonely plain ;
Where desesrts spread, (103) and owls and tygers reign :
Where piles once famous, once the seats of pride,
Now form the dens where hissing serpents hide :
Where dismal putrid mangl'd carnage lies ;
Where doleful groans from piles of ruins rise :
Where limbless bodies, robb'd of sight, complain ;
And men and beasts, in mingl'd heaps remain,
For growling dogs, and screeching fowls to tear ;
To glut the wolves and feast the birds of air.
And thus to know what hateful monarchs cause,
Add tenfold evil to the want of laws :

PART III.

To know what monsters pow'r would surely cause,
If men were plac'd above the reach of laws;
To know the means which lead us blindly on,
Until our freedom, peace, and joy, are gone;
Let men peruse the true, historic page;
And see what kings have done in ev'ry age:
For none (106) conceives what fiends such pow'r creates,
Nor knows what arts are us'd to ruin states,
Unless he reads the page of ancient lore;
And learns man's nature from the deeds of yore;
Or learns the cause which guides the human will,
To vice or virtue, or to good or ill.
In forms of government, the cause we find,
Which gives direction to the human mind:
There lies the source whence good or evil flows;
And yet that source produces half our woes.
Most forms (107) are bad; and there the fountain lies,
From which corruption's baneful streams arise
And spread, diverging in contagious rills,
Polluting nations as the bane distils.
But mend these forms; and that will dry the sourse,
Which gives the mind its most unhappy course.
No head correct would let the body stray;
But heads insane make bodies miss their way.
So forms correct would keep the people right;

But forms defective wrap their souls in night.
If law is bad, that people whom it rules,
Are surely plagu'd with arrant knaves and fools:
With knaves to pass, and fools to tolerate,
Laws, made to injure or inthrall the state.
How strange! how marvellous! that what was made
To guard our lives, our freedom, wealth, and trade,
Should be profan'd to torture or enslave;
Or rob mankind of all that nature gave.
That government, though form'd for social good,
Should be so little watch'd or understood,
That one, more vile or cruel than the rest,
Should take from many what the heart loves best,
Is strange, indeed! and yet 'tis surely true;
For kings take cities, lands, and freedom too;
Yes, even freedom, kings with sneers deride;
For they and freedom cannot both preside.
In proof of this, search all the nations round;
Where kings reside, there freedom can't be found
And yet, without it, all our hopes are vain:
For men, in fear, must surely live in pain:
And men oppress'd, such dreadful hardships bear,
That he who dies, a milder fate, will share.

From reason only, ev'ry state should draw
Her constitution, and her statute law.
A constitution is a social pact,
Which is created by the people's act:
It is a compact, or a great decree,
Which limits pow'r; and leaves the people free,

To form, amend, or change, their social scheme ;
And bind their rulers with a rule supreme.
The major number form this great decree,
Or social scheme, to keep the nation free :
For ev'ry people who are free enact,
And at their pleasure change, their social pact.
To constitutions, statute laws must bend :
For those, the people make, revoke or mend ;
But these, their servants, or their agents, make ;
And, from the former, their instructions take.
Hence statute laws are rules, by agents, made,
Within the sov'reign people's palisade
Or constitution : thus, the difference lies
Most clearly mark'd before the weakest eyes :
Who from the whole, may this distinction take ;
The people this, (108) and that, their servant's make.
But what is reason ? reason's rules are those
From which the smallest earthly evil flows.
Fools steer by passion, prejudice, and pride ;
But reason's precepts are the sage's guide :
He follows reason, makes her rules his laws ;
And judges actions by the things they cause.
For reason's rules, by which the wise elect,
Must give fore knowledge of each deed's effect :
Effects distinguish what is right or wrong ;
And show the class to which our acts belong.
For, if our acts molest no others joy,
Or if they neither man nor beast annoy,
They can't be wrong ; and men who censure deeds

From which the least distress or pain proceeds,
Are selfish knaves, or poor misguided tools,
Misled by vice, or prejudic'd by schools.
From whence comes reason, why should man be told
To doubt his sense, and give the priest his gold?
That priest who bids you disregard your wealth,
Yet hoards up riches by deceit and stealth;
That priest who talks of mercy, faith, and light,
Yet slaughters thousands in a single night; (109)
That priest who meekly preaches, prays and sings,
Yet roasts mankind, and props the vilest kings;
That priest whose bulls (110) have licenc'd ev'ry sin,
And weary'd life with torture, strife and din?
Shall man be told to doubt his eyes and ears?
By idle priests, or false, pretended seers.
Who heeds such counsel in some ditch shall fall
Or knock his head against his neighbour's wall.
The god who made us gave us reason's guide,
We know no safe or certain rule * beside.
All other rules may spring from man's deceit;
Or spring from schemes, contriv'd to thrall or cheat:
For ev'ry writing sacred or profane,
Without that reason, would be read in vain.
If sacred writ be out of reason's (111) reach,
'Tis not the book, but inspirations teach:
The word by reason, must be understood;
Or else, from reading, we derive no good.
When church and state, by civl law, unite,
The devil triumphs o'er religious right:
For any church, if propt by civil power,

* Excepting the sacred scriptures.

Would show the hoof, and other sects devour.
Are not all churches while they hold the sway,
Alike dispos'd, on other sects, to prey?
All sects in pow'r, other sects, enthrall;
For pow'r has spoil'd them, and would spoil them all.
It is the cause, and not the cause's name,
Which brings effects, or makes effects the same:
A sectal (112) spirit, join'd with civil laws,
And love of riches, form the common cause.
Which shackles (113) conscience, immolates all right;
And clouds the state with hierarchal night.
Hence ev'ry church would cause the same effect;
For party spirit lurks in ev'ry sect,
Which, cloth'd with pow'r, and urg'd by spirits fell,
Cause scenes (114) more dreadful than these lines can tell.
The rights of conscience, let all men revere;
And, though ten thousand, thousand sects appear,
Let all exist as free as vital air;
Let ev'ry palate choose congenial fare.
Why stuff a man with bacon, (115) cats or cheese?
Or why should men not choose what food they please?
Perhaps some palates relish not such feasts,
As filthy pork, or beef, (116) or sacred (117) beasts:
So let each sect, and ev'ry future brood,
Be free to choose their most congenial food.
This hurts no others: why should others grieve?
Or why should man, such foolish tales, believe?
Does God omnipotent desire the aid
Of that poor creature he himself has made?
Is foolish man to aid that pow'r supreme,

Whose wisdom form'd the universal scheme ?
Were torture, flames, or force, by Christ employ'd ?
Was any man, by his command, destroy'd,
Did he ordain that faith be spread by fire ?
Does Christ, the aid of civil laws, require ?
O foolish man ! ! ! O vile unblushing priest ! ! !
When shall thy fires, and cruel craft have ceas'd
With thy curs'd errors plain to thy own eyes,
Thou causest flames around the blind to rise :
Does this consist with what thyself ascribes
To God supreme, the God of Israel's tribes ?
With that omnipotence, and ruth supreme,
Of him whose goodness form'd this boundless scheme !
Can God be merciful, and yet require,
That thou shouldst burn the heretic with fire
Thou filthy pest ! to glut thy swinish maw,
Thou hast neglected all acknowledg'd law !
And self convicted, merit greater pain,
Than any man thy cursed fires have slain.
To torture men with such inhuman spite,
For being firm in what they think is right,
Must be a sin of that disgustful kind,
Which raises horror in the honest mind.
No cause on earth can ever justify
The use of torture even on a fly ;
Still less on man, though stain'd with cruel deeds,
Much less on sects for having faith in creeds :
For he who loves the creed impress'd in youth,
Would be as firm had he receiv'd the truth ;
And if convinc'd by Zeno's heavenly art,

Would prove the goodness of his mind and heart.
Here love of error, proves a love of truth :
But righteous firmness, priests exclude from ruth :
For nought but reason changes virtuous minds ;
No force can bend them while conviction binds.
The priests who tortur'd those who doubted, knew
That none could credit what appear'd untrue :
Go, tell a man that he may roll in fire,
And not consume, nor yet with heat expire ;
Can he believe it, if he will'd it so ?
Or can we doubt the plainest truths we know ·
Can men believe what seems to them untrue ?
No: priests require what none have pow'r to do.
Belief or doubt does not from choice arise ;
For none can doubt what stands before his eyes ;
Nor see a thing, unless the thing appears,
Though bade observe it by the priests or seers.
If doubts by option neither rise nor end,
On proof and judgment, all our thoughts depend.
Can force convince ? O fools ! believe and (118) will
Are quite distinct, and must remain so still.
Priests torture men who feel most zeal to do,
Not wrong, but right, and what they think is true.
Shame on the priest ! (119) thou art a fiend from hell,
The same false seer of whom the scriptures tell :
For pow'r supreme could change each sect or clan
Without thy torture, or the help of man.

Bad constitutions never fail to sow
The seeds of mischief, ruin, toil and woe :

Feuds, broils, and discord, cruel war and strife,
The sinks of plenty, and the pests of life,
Are all conceiv'd in some ambitious brains,
When man, uncurb'd by sovereign people reigns.
Ah when will all the wretched nations know,
The cause from which their worst disorders flow!
In powers uncheck'd the great disorder lies,
And there the springs of moral evil rise.
And these curst fountains, where disorder'd springs
Are call'd grand seignors, princes, czars or kings;
Shaks, sophis, sultans, rajahs, khans or beys;
Grand lamas, (120) caliphs, bishops, popes, or deys,
Moguls, dukes, emp'rors, monarchs, lords or knights
Descending titles, or restraint of rights.
Sweep these away, no more shall discord reign,
Nor spread its havock round the wasted plain.
Sweep these away, and woeful war shall cease,
And man be bless'd with universal peace.
No more shall husbands, parents, infants, all,
Amid the waste of flagrant cities fall;
No more in rags shall houseless thousands roam,
Who once had riches, plenty, friends, and home:
But man in peace, the boon which heaven design'd,
His greatest good, and purest joy shall find.

All those who try to kindle war's dread flame,
Commit what language is too weak to blame!
And though some wish for thrones and direful war,
Of all the monsters, man should these abhor!
A few may gain, but still by war we find,

That much is lost, and lost to all mankind.
A nation's interest means a nation's peace,
Although her riches would by war increase.
Though wealth increase, by war the state's deprav'd,
One half corrupted, and the whole enslav'd.
And though ten states should be by one restrain'd,
Unless she robb'd them, wealth could not be gain'd.
For all would lie among the conquer'd still,
And if she takes it she must rob or kill.
What one state gains, another state must lose,
And yet the victor in the sequel rues.
For when we calculate the victor's cost,
We find her gain was less than what she lost.
Then add to this what all mankind abhor,
That if a nation take by wrongful war,
The whole are felons in a lit'ral sense,
The number guilty, lessens not th' offence.
If three or one should steal my goods from me,
The three are guilty as the one would be:
Alike to me if one, or thousands come,
If I am driven from my house and home.
To kill in war is, in the strictest sense,
An act of murder, (121) or of self defence:
For nations can't, like single persons feel,
And anger, therefore can't impel the steel:
'Tis mean ambition guides the cruel hand,
To murder millions in a distant land;
To spread promiscuous death without control,
From southern regions to the northern pole.
How vile is he, who dares to introduce,

Or practice murders, which have no excuse ;
And yet pretends to view the crime with awe,
And hate less villains, who infringe the law.
If other's deaths, for gold or pride we cause,
The act is murder, by the best of laws.
So call what names, disguise them as you will,
Yet kings and monarchs are but felons still.
Two men, or nations, who should war or fight,
Would prove at least, that both could not be right.
Hence, wars do prove, that great defects are in
Those constitutions, (122) where the wars begin,
For if the powers, making war and peace,
Were circumscrib'd, the curse of war must cease:
'Tis not the nation, but the king is mad ;
'Tis not the people, but the laws are bad,
The people hate the rage of war and strife :
They never gain (123) by this great pest of life :
And if they always could control the state,
Unnumber'd crowds would meet a milder fate.
The people then, would guard the state in time,
From loss, from waste, from ruin, guilt, or crime.
Then each despotic, or ambitious fool,
Would be displaced, that better men might rule ;
And war, the scourge of almost ev'ry age.
Would lose its terrors and forget to rage ;
Mankind be humaniz'd with kind intent,
And life, in safety, peace, and joy be spent.
From forms and laws, this peace and joy must rise,
For they alone, must keep the people wise ;

Provide instruction for the rising youth,
And sow the seeds of governmental truth;
Instruct the young, untaught, unbias'd mind,
To know the form, which nature's law design'd
To shield from foes, enable all to see,
And keep mankind forever just and free.
A form there is which would perpetuate
The rights of man, within a social state:
And nations all in future times, shall know
Some means to keep man's worst ambition low.
By keeping all to civil duties bound,
The great machine would run its ceaseless round;
If laws teach men, and men support good laws,
Cause brings effect, effect preserves the cause.
Thus perfect laws, when once they operate,
Will never fail to guide the wheels of state.
Then like the planets, constant, true, and just,
The wheels of power will not desert their trust;
But run forever true as nature's laws,
Forever moving by effect and cause.
'Tis hence, as plain as proof itself could be,
That forms would always keep the nations free:
Provided, they were good, or well devis'd,
Completely fram'd, and nicely organiz'd;
Provided too, that foreign wars would cease,
And ev'ry state would be content with peace.
For forms like these would leave no homebred cause,
To banish freedom's wise and equal laws.
Disease must come from some external place,
To change the state from such a healthful case.

But ev'ry state, will live in joyful peace,
When monarchs fall, and freedom's friends increase.
No constitution could with safety stand,
If venal armies (124) could infest the land.
Troops rais'd in war to save free states from harms,
Against free states too often turn their arms:
And thus become, instead of freedom's friend,
The greatest foe with whom she could contend.
The foe whom your vain hero goes to tame,
Is not more dangerous than your hero's fame.
If he succeeds your country falls a prey,
To your ambitious, base, commander's sway:
And though your foes are forc'd to quit the field,
You must in turn to haughty victors yield:
For bondage, thus, on either hand awaits,
The wretch'd men of war corrupted states.
The crescent vice of constant war, destroys
Those constitutions, which do nicely poise:
And, therefore, let each honest man beware,
That peace be foster'd with his special care.
One war brings more, for those enur'd to fight
Will stir up war, because 'tis their delight.
Men school'd in camps to practise ev'ry crime,
Disperse and spread corruption through each clime.
In that vile school each troop is qualify'd,
To teach their friends, (125) and spread the soldier's pride;
That pride of fools, which prompts to needless fight,
And makes a nation over-rate its might:
And makes the dunce, who never knew the length,

Of his own state, nor any country's strength,
Conceit his nation has the pow'r or skill,
To spread its conquests, and enforce its will.
In ev'ry nation fools had this conceit,
'Till taught by conquest, or severe defeat,
To know themselves: to know perhaps too late
To save their proud, but weak defenceless state,
From fire and sword, and fierce rapacious foes,
And dreadful conquest's overwhelming woes.
For honour's moonshine, or the nation's fame,
For one man's insult, or some fancy'd claim,
The blockhead swears that all his blood shall flow,
To curb the haughty, and insulting foe.
With childish reasons, thus some knaves excite
A foolish people to engage in fight:
With such excitements (126) states, without defence,
Are often urg'd until their wars commence,
And through such folly, nations once refin'd,
Have scarcely left a single trace behind.
And yet those nations deem'd themselves so strong,
That they would scarcely brook the smallest wrong;
But flew to arms upon some slight pretext,
By jests offended, or by nick names vex'd.
'Tis thus that game cocks fight with causeless rage;
And die in battle if they once engage.
'Tis better far to bear some trivial wrong,
Than fight our neighbours whether weak or strong:
Because corruption is a greater woe;
And greater evils from corruption grow.
Besides, we know that, if compell'd to fight,

An honest motive can't impair our might:
Nor can forbearance take our strength away;
Nor make us weaker at a future day:
Like means remain to make a firm defence:
If foes invade us, or if wars commence:
And if forbearance can't avoid the blow,
Our justice arms us to repel the foe.
But when a nation hears a distant drum,
And goes to war for fear that war should come,
She acts like one who dreads the loss of breath,
And cuts his throat to save himself from death.
When war begins, no pow'r on earth, can tell
When war will cease, nor who in peace may dwell;
Nor who must die before its rage will end,
Or lose a husband, parent, son, or friend.
But when democracy pervades the world,
When ev'ry monarch from his throne is hurl'd,
Then peace shall reign, and cannon cease to roar;
And nations wage relentless war no more;
But through their wisdom, learn to evitate
Those wars and feuds which all the just must hate.
This, I have prov'd, and now repeat again;
For truth so useful can't be made too plain;
The major part of ev'ry state would see,
That peace is best; and hence, in peace, would be;
And foreign dangers, then would not demand
A venal army to protect the land:
External foes could furnish no pretext,
By which the state could be enslav'd or vex'd;
Hence constitutions, form'd with care, would stand; (127)

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And spread their blessings round the peaceful land
Come halcyon days! 'tis time the storm was past:
For lo, the poor still bend before the blast:
Come, let them feel what ev'ry soul desires,
The sun of freedom with its vital fires:
For all the world, in this one truth agree;
Man is not happy if he is not free.
Freedom is lovely: with her charms alone,
The cot is richer than the monarch's throne.
When peace and freedom smile on nymphs and swains,
They sing, and dance, and frolic, round the plains;
And all is mirth, and joy, and harmless lay,
A landscape deck'd with groupes all blithe and gay.
But when the sun of freedom quits the plains,
All joy and gladness soon forsake the swains;
A night of thraldom o'er the landscape creeps;
And horrid deeds are done while justice sleeps;
Such dismal darkness shades the royal skies,
That frighten'd justice seems afraid to rise.
Again, if freedom rise with ray serene,
All gloom and sadness leaves the rural scene.
The swain well pleas'd resumes his cheerful face,
And woos the nymph with all his usual grace.
And he, whom war or thraldom forc'd to roam,
In wilds far distant from his wife and home,
Returns with joy to seek his native spot,
And meet his consort in his humble cot.
So Damon once, by press gangs forc'd to roam,
Return'd again to seek his native home:
To seek his country, children, friends and wife,

From whom he fled to shun a soldier's life.
As he return'd, he hop'd one happy day,
Would drive his griefs and chase his cares away.
His busy fancy often wander'd home,
And painted pleasures which were not to come.
Thus on the way, ideal joys would rise ;
His dear companion seem'd before his eyes.
He thought she liv'd too constant still to wait,
And flew to meet him at the cottage gate,
With arms outstretch'd to give the sweet embrace,
While tears of joy bedew'd her lovely face.
He thought, that while her tender arms caress'd,
Her warm tears flow'd upon his throbbing breast
But when arriv'd, his dreams of pleasure fled,
His cot was wasted and his partner dead";
His children slain, his little farm defac'd,
And none but Damon left to moan the waste.
Without support, without a friend or shed,
With sad reflections he survey'd the dead.
His house had stood where he sat down to rest ;
Now cold and weary, hungry and distress'd.
Great God, with tears and heavy sighs, he said,
Why was I absent when my partner bled ;
Or why was life not sacrific'd to slay,
Some cruel tyrant on that fatal day.
I then might sleep with the departed dead,
And find a place to rest this weary head.
Here on the waste I now remain alone,
Unpity'd, wretched, houseless, and unknown.
As thus with tears he did his loss bewail,
Two horsemen heard him in the distant gale.
They left their way to hear his plaintive cry,

To ask what griev'd him, and his wants supply.
Alas ! said he to keep from war I fled !
And now return to find my children dead !
My wife, my house, my cattle swept away !
No friends, no shelter, since that dreadful day !
My wife, my children, yes, poor Jane, he said,
Lies mingled now with yonder heaps of dead.
Alas ! she fell in bitter grief and woe ;
She fell dishonor'd by a ruthless foe !
Here on this spot, my children once so fair,
By playful wiles remov'd their father's care :
Their mother too, with gay describeless art,
Could sweeten time, and constant joys impart.
But these are gone ; nor have they left behind
One source of pleasure to my tortur'd mind.
Now ev'ry tie which gave my comforts birth,
Is quite dissolv'd, and melted down to earth,
For now my children, wife, and friends are dead,
All, all, are slaughter'd, and my hopes have fled.
And full of grief, he curs'd the pride of kings,
" From them," he said, " this dreadful ruin springs.
The lives of millions, in a peaceful state,
These kings would barter for the name of great ;
And yet, so dastardly, to save their own,
Would give a nation, or desert a throne.
The private insults which to them are sent,
Why do they not in single fight resent ?
Or why should ev'ry vain or foolish king,
Such awful havoc on the nation bring ?
To bear an insult, they too childish grow,

And yet too mean to fight the haughty foe:
They cause mankind to make of war a trade,
That fire and sword may harmless men invade:
They first unjustly claim a tract of land;
Then waste the people with a ruthless hand.
They call together men, who know not why;
And cause strange hosts, by hosts unknown to die.
And thus do strangers feel each other's might,
Though never wrong'd by those, with whom they fight.
O monsters! demons! come with all your stings;
Loose all your plagues against those savage kings!
Let hissing vipers round their brows entwine,
And monstrous snakes, and loathsome reptiles join,
To make their woes, like those which I endure,
Such woes as death, and death alone, can cure.
What right have kings? alas! no more than I,
To cause these thousands in the dust to lie.
Behold their waste! great God! and does my Jane
My once fond partner, lie among the slain?
O death! distraction! seize my tortur'd soul,
O take me, take me, where red slaughters roll!
Where some kind hand may send the rapid dart,
To end the pangs which rend my wretched heart.
O dearest spouse! had I before thee died,
These woes and horrors could not now betide!
Come death! relieve me; let my spirit fly;
My thoughts are death, the worst of deaths I die."
His voice grew faint; and as the hour was late,
The horsemen thought the night too near to wait
And said to Damon, please to mount behind,

And leave these scences which now distract thy mind.
If friends are lost, let strangers now befriend;
And soften sorrows, till those sorrows end.
Thy loss, thy griefs, would touch the hardest heart,
But grief is useless when our friends depart.
A heart so kind will always find relief;
So quit this place, it only feeds thy grief.
And leave it soon, for lo, this dreadful night,
Brings snows and storms to intercept thy flight.
Depart with us, nor trust this midnight gloom,
These icy tempests bear an awful doom.
He shook his head, and bath'd in tears, reply'd,
O leave me here, and ask me not to ride!
Without a house, the wintry storms I'll brave,
Where drifting snows in whirling eddies wave:
Without a friend, unseen by mortal eyes,
Where this cold frost my only sheet supplies,
I'll lie neglected, unreliev'd will lie,
Entomb'd in snows, entomb'd before I die!
Of all my friends, not one would tyrants save;
So let the snows prepare my wintry grave.
More touch'd with pity, now the horsemen said,
Ah friend most worthy of a warmer bed:
Stay not behind, but seek a milder fate;
And still they warn'd him, though the hour was late.
He said, good men, no longer here remain,
But save your lives, and cross this ample plain.
They urg'd again: he said with tone austere,
These useless bones shall bleach and moulder here.
And then the horsemen scour'd the distant waste,

And left poor Damon where they found him plac'd.
The night came on: the tempest cold and bleak,
Congeal'd the tears which trickl'd down his cheek.
And Boreas, raging, lash'd the forrests low;
And crash'd their branches, waving to and fro.
And now, the snows and limbs with chilling swirl, (128)
Through awful gloom, in dire confusion hurl.
And while the tempest groan'd in horrid strains,
And howl'd along depopulated plains,
Poor Damon, shiv'ring, hugg'd his thin clad frame;
And, murm'ring, call'd his lost companion's name.
When craz'd with grief and cold, he left his seat,
To seek some shelter where no storms could beat.
Through drifting snows he took his trackless way,
And left the walks, he once had lov'd to stray.
But, less by reason than by instinct led,
He brav'd the storm, unknowing where to tread.
At length a cave appear'd to Damon's view;
And there the swain from whirling snows withdrew.
And there with vermin pass'd this horrid night,
Too cold to hope to see Aurora's light:
There on the ground he flung his weary frame,
And lay, lamenting till the morning came.
He left his cavern at the dawn of day,
And trudg'd through snows along the pathless way.
But ah! 'tis chance which now directs his feet;
Poor Damon's reason left her native seat.
A madman now, he wastes his haggard form
And, raving, buffets ev'ry pelting storm;
Expos'd and ragged, roves about the plain,

And calls his spouse in pity's softest strain :
To passing strangers still his loss bewails,
Or tells his story to the passing gales.

When freedom's sun dispels despotic night,
And sheds the comforts of celestial light,
Like wither'd plants, refresh'd by vernal show'rs,
Mild virtue rises from her humble bow'rs.
And then the nation wears a smiling face ;
And manly virtues deck the human race.
Rise freedom's sun ! in all thy splendour rise !
And mount in triumph through unclouded skies :
Light round the world, that all mankind may see,
How much their welfare must depend on thee.
Would not the rays of such refulgent light,
Dispel the gloom which clouds the mental sight ?
Teach men their duties ; equal laws conserve ;
And equal bliss for future man preserve ?
Yes, freedom's sun would send all searching rays,
To guide us through the governmental maze,
And shew those maxims, which we all should know,
That all may learn to watch their greatest foe.
There is one science which mankind could learn ;
And find rewards in fredom's rich return.
All men have leisure : leisure well apply'd
Would save those millions which are now destroy'd
And gain that science, (129) which all men should know,
Who live in lands where freedom's comforts flow.
Neglect of this one science marks the fool,
Too dull to know, neglect will cause misrule :

Who knows not this neglects his wealth and life,
His sons and daughters, country, friends and wife:
Neglects his rights, neglects his dearest ties;
And that wherein his only safety lies.
For safety lies in checking those who rule;
This none denies, except a knave or fool.
The fool looks wise, says, what are rights to me,
For I must labour, whether bound or free.?
I'll keep at work, and save my money too,
Nor care (130) who rules, nor what our rulers do.
He never thinks, that pow'r uncurb'd, will take,
As much as toil, and hard exertion make:
Though taxes rob him, yet he knows it not;
But, toiling hard, laments the poor man's lot.
He looks so wise, and yet from wicked laws,
He feels effects, but can't perceive the cause.
He knows it not, although, for all he eats,
He pays a tax to feed a gang of cheats.
The reason is, he never knew the game,
By which they cheat him in some duty's name;
Or name of price, because in price he pays,
The monstrous duties which those gamesters raise.
The charge, expence or costs of what he buys
Must fall with duties, or with duties rise.
Because the man, who pays the duties first,
Must raise the price, or not be reimburs'd:
He adds the duties in the charge he makes,
And from the buyer usual profit takes.
The poor must buy; and hence the poor must pay;
The cheats receive, and for their portions play.

These gamesters play to get their share of stakes,
Till all the nation to its centre shakes,
Till half its plains are dy'd with human blood,
And half the nation swell the dismal flood.
The foolish dunce, whose creed we heard before,
Still plods at home, and hears the distant roar.
Till dangers come he never lifts his eyes,
To view the tempests which around him rise:
Still wise he feels, and still he feels secure,
And hopes by toil to rise above the poor.
Though vicious rulers call his friends to fight,
Still, unsuspecting, he believes 'tis right.
He never thinks until the call extends
To him as well as to his neighbouring friends :
He will not think until compell'd to go
To fight perhaps a long insulted foe.
But when the flames which through his cottage rise,
And babes expos'd to bleak, inclement skies,
Call forth his tears, and give a sense of woes ;
He sees too late whence all the evil flows.
From fools like him the cause receiv'd its aid,
Which drives him now through fire and blood to wade.
The life he thought so well secur'd before,
Is now expos'd where thundering cannon roar.
His wife and shildren, always poorly fed,
Are now depriv'd of raiment, house and bread ;
Of all their pittance stripp'd, and left forlorn,
Almost as naked as they once were born.
Would this not rouse the hardest, dullest soul,
That ever trod where war and carnage roll ?

To see his infants by their mother led
From flames just rising through their humble shed,
To see them run, to hear their plaintive cries,
To see them weep, and turn their mournful eyes,
And cast a longing, lingering look behind,
On that dear hut where they till now could find,
At least, a shelter, bed and coarse repast,
To succour life, and break the winter's blast:
To see them often fondly turn to trace
Their ancient cot, and well known native place,
Yet forc'd away the cruel world to roam,
Without defender, raiment, food or home.
At last, to see them in their tender years,
Implore with hands, and supplicate with tears,
And yet unheeded by the savage foe,
Who now pursues to give the deadly blow.
Their hands uprais'd, their mother's awful cries,
Must teach the father while his infant dies.
His stupid soul is now severely taught;
He knows too late what he too dearly bought.
This thoughtless man would now be shock'd to hear
Of woes, he once could not be taught to fear.
He sees that toil will not enrich nor save
The man, who thus becomes his ruler's slave.
For toil alone, he finds has prov'd too vain
To save his children, or preserve his gain.
Too late he knows what time was justly due,
O dear republic! to his rights and you.
He thinks no longer that his humble lot
Is independent of the ruling sot:

He once suppos'd so, but had then to learn
That public men are private men's concern ;
And that the poor have quite as much to lose,
As those who wrong them, and their rights abuse.
'Tis thus the fool, who ventures far to roam,
Neglects in time to seek his distant home :
And when at last he lifts his grov'ling eyes,
The gloomy storm obscures the sun and skies,
Pours dashing torrents down the mountain's side,
And, driving forwards, spreads destruction wide,
Sweeps trees and fences down the turbid flood,
And with them rolls the dunce along the mud.

Wealth without labour would be useless trash ;
The poor have labour, though the rich have cash.
Though now obtain'd by thraldom's fire and sword,
The poor man's toil outweighs the rich man's hoard.
The rich so often get by wrongs or (131) stealth,
That toil outvalues all their hoards of wealth :
But wealth, if wealth were not a shameful spoil,
Could not exceed the worth of honest toil.
For toil must equal that which toil must bring,
And all your riches from our toil must spring.
Nay, weigh them both, the scales of reason prove
That toil is more than all your wealth can move.
Then pay for toil its fair intrinsic worth,
And those will gain, whose toil improves the earth.
In states where work does not receive its pay,
Thus might the needy to the wealthy say :
If half your lives a competence amass'd,

And we should work as long as life shall last,
Then from our lives the state, at least procures,
Full twice the service which it gains from yours:
Yet you may think our rights are not so great
As yours, whose lives do less to serve the state;
And why, because through fraud, deceit or broil,
You gain'd estates by half the honest toil:
Because we work, and still as poor remain,
While you preserve your surreptitious gain.
Still not content with what our labour made,
You claim our freedom though we toil unpaid:
To guard your hoards, you ask protection too,
Although for ours we ask no aid from you.
You claim our rights without our free accord,
As if your work had not the best reward:
But can you justly take our rights away,
Because our work has not receiv'd its pay?
Can those be paid, who constant toil endure,
And those who toil not greater sums procure?
This could not be if those who work were paid,
Because by work the whole of wealth is made.
Hence we who work, and yet so poor remain
Are left unpaid, while you such fortunes gain.
If two copartners equal hardships bear,
And one receives a more than equal share,
One partner then is surely left unpaid,
And thus by him the other's wealth is made.
The case is clear where two or three combine;
And quite as plain where men in nations join:
Because the reason just alike relates

To those great firms denominated states:
The case is plainer, here some labour not,
And yet receive what others labour got.
If one life's labour does, or should obtain
A sum, just equal to the rich man's gain;
Our lives of toil are worth your heaps of gold;
We give our toil, but you your wealth withhold:
Our tax thus paid, produc'd what you retain;
And equal suffrage we at least should gain.
Yet those, who toil not, seem to arrogate
A right to guide the whole affairs of state;
Nay, do in fact, not only claim the right,
But rule the poor, and waste their lives in fight.
But toil receives its just, intrinsic rate,
In ev'ry free, and well conducted state.
For there no duties cheat the honest poor,
Nor make them pay what toil would else insure:
Toil wins its work by contract just and fair,
Where rich and poor an equal freedom share.
Each workman gains by unrestrain'd accord, (132)
For all his work, a full and just reward;
If priests and lords be not combin'd by kings,
To steal the profit which from labour springs.
By toil or labour here is understood,
The work or care which causes human good.
A life of labour why should man despise?
From that our health, support and riches rise.
All spring from dust; and he, who toils for bread,
Should not be aw'd by him whom crimes have fed;
But know himself, and meet with equal port

The humble peasant, and the pride of court:
If men are equal, let them equal stand,
Obey the laws, but own no king's command.
O noble sight, to see the poor and low,
Still proud of virtue, and unaw'd by show,
Still firmly fix'd to guard their equal right
To curb its foes, or conquer them in fight:
Far nobler these, than those who meanly wait
Around the monarch, who enslaves a state.

The sweetest joy with which our race is blest,
Is faithful love within the virtuous breast;
Or faithful friendship, such as ancient tale (133)
Ascribes to him who gave his life for bail.
Or him who came before the fatal hour,
To save that surety from tyrannic power.
But virtue only, bliss like this secures;
No other basis, joy so great insures.
Hence, joy so pure, the rich can seldom find;
Because they leave the proud and selfish mind
To dwell among the middle-wealth and poor,
Where virtue rests, and where these joys endure.
The poor have also freedom, life, content,
And toil's intrinsic worth to represent:
Yet fools will say, the poor have naught to lose,
And hence that rulers they ought not to choose: (134)
Thus placing gold above the poor man's life,
His peace and freedom, wages, babes, and wife.
The free, poor man, because more truly blest,
Has more to lose than men with wealth distress'd.

Hence, politicks is ev'ry man's concern :
And that the science which all men should learn.
Without it rights would not be understood,
Nor laws provided for the public good ;
Nor constitutions soon enough improv'd ;
And all defects by proper modes remov'd ;
Nor public servants justly criticiz'd,
Nor just restraints of all abuse devis'd.
Our acts converge to gain some certain end,
Mankind to injure, or mankind befriend :
And if the public were not well advis'd,
Official acts could not be scrutiniz'd :
But those who know to what each measure tends,
May thus discover both their foes and friends.

To all elections let all men repair ;
Man owes to man most sacred duties there.
But let no man his sacred suffrage use,
Without inquiring whom he ought to choose.
To vote by guess is chance, instead of choice,
And makes the foes of equal rights rejoice.
'Tis most attrocious to presume to vote,
Unless his notions, whom you thus promote,
Are known to you, and also known to be
That kind, which tends to keep your country free.
To sell their votes seems just in dunces' view ;
They sell their votes, but sell their neighbour's (135)
too ;
Not neighbour's only, children's too, are sold,
And those who spring from their sepulchr'd mould.

For gold or fame, or life's uncertain span,
They sell their bliss, and all the bliss of man.
My neighbour's rights, so far depend on me,
That when I lose my freedom, so must he.
You can't be free while I remain a slave;
Support my peace, or yours you cannot save.
'Tis each man's duty to inform his mind,
Before he votes for men to rule mankind:
And he, whose act profanes this sacred right,
May yet be damn'd to everlasting night.
For what more curs'd, in all the list of sins,
Than deeds from which eternal wrong begins?
Could man, a crime (136) more horrid perpetrate,
Than thus to sap a free and happy state?
Who steals my freedom, steals not only pelf,
But what is dearer than my life itself.
To rob but one, is an attrocious deed;
And yet one murder does that crime exceed:
To murder millions shocks all human sense;
And yet to thrall them is a worse offence.
Besides, the last comprises all the rest,
Rape, murder, arson, all which men detest,
Are caus'd by thraldom, or in that contain'd:
By that, each purse without consent is drain'd.
For men enslav'd through fear or force, must pay
The yearly sum which monarchs please to lay.
They term it tax; 'tis not the less a theft,
If men are thus without a vote bereft;
Nay, people tax'd, without their own consent,
Are robb'd by force, and should by force resent:

For if the people gave no power away,
Then whence the right of those who hold the sway
No power is just, but what the major part
Of men confer, with free and fearless heart,
By proper modes, (137) for short and certain times,
With bounds prescrib'd which authorise no crimes.
If monarchs take a single cent from me,
They might as justly levy three times three; (138)
Nay, all I own: Alas! not only wealth,
But reputation, quiet, life, and health,
Alike enslav'd, the monarch's whims await,
Whose regal power subjects a slavish state.
Slaves live in danger like setacious beasts,
Which sties confine, and keep for people's feasts:
The one before the butcher's knife must fall;
The other dies, when greater butchers call:
For slaves, in life, have mere estates at will,
Which end their terms when monarchs choose to kill.
O mean condition! but much meaner he,
Who asks a master, and will not be free.
Such mean conditions, men of honor hate,
And curse the knaves who cause this abject state.
They scorn the man, who bends when tyrants frown;
And those who fawn, and cringe before a crown,
Or hold their lives like that setacious herd,
To die when monarchs give the fatal word.
To dupe a state, to bear the will of one,
[What men of honour never yet have done]
Is but the work of sycophantic souls,
Who sigh for masters, whom no law controls.

And yet the courtier (139) wretched, mean and vile,
Must rest existence on a royal smile.
If monarchs frown the courteous insect dies,
As much regretted as the buzzing flies;
As much unpity'd as the baneful snake,
Whose head the pilgrim leaves his road to break,
The insect chill'd by each autumnal breeze,
Dreads ev'ry gale which moves the leafy trees:
So courtiers shiver at a monarch's breath,
Because it sends them to a shameful death.

Look o'er the works, the silly works of kings,
And lo! the fruit pretended greatness brings:
There thousands toil while useless mountains rise;
And useless temples here, invade the skies:
There rape and plunder spread a common curse;
And here, the robber empties ev'ry purse:
There cruel tortures make the righteous groan;
And here, in dungeons hungry thousands moan:
There thousands toil to make a monarch's toys (140);
His vain pursuits ten million here, employs:
There streams of blood gush forth from countless veins;
And murder here depopulates the plains:
There arson's wide, destructive flames arise;
And here, consum'd, the work of ages lies.
Such are the works which kings, and royal train,
In ev'ry age have scatter'd round the plain.
For useless piles they sack the fairest town:
Thus toil must raise, what useless toil pull'd down.

Some say, just laws can never bless mankind,
'Till education makes them more refin'd
And then conclude, that this will never be ;
And that mankind could not continue free.
But this is all the dream of those who gain,
Or hope to profit, by another's pain.
Is man as thoughtless as the braying beast,
Which feeds, unmindful, on the summer's feast ?
Or less precautious than the emmets are,
That future days should not employ his care ?
Has he less forethought than this creeping thing,
To ward off dangers future time may bring
While careless insects are destroy'd by frost,
Dispers'd in snows, and lie for ever lost ;
The ant, the squirrel, and the bee prepare
For future tempests, while the weather's fair.
Their prescience guards them from the frigid skies,
When drifting snows, in sweeping whirlwinds rise.
And thus, by forecast, they securely stay,
'Till vernal suns have chas'd the snows away :
Then venture out, secure in warmer rays,
Yet not unmindful of their future days :
They prove that prescience which they show'd before,
And think of winds when they have ceas'd to roar;
Provide again, before new storms arise,
To lash the snows about the wintry skies.
They know their nature, and prepare in time,
For all the frost of their respective clime.
Has man less knowledge of his nature, say
Is he of dangers less aware than they ?

As insects think of past hibernal frost,
So man may think how freemen's joys were lost;
And guard against the causes which would bring
That greatest evil, monarch, prince or king.
If youth were taught when reason reach'd its prime,
A few good rules would make a blissful time,
By teaching means to keep ambition down,
And all the knaves, who harbour round a crown.
And though more righteous men should not arise,
[But former times the strange belief denies]
When men are free, and emulation great,
And none but men of virtue serve the state;
Yet equal means from lion, lion save,
So equal knowledge never makes a slave;
But keeps the balance so exactly just,
If men were friends they dare not quit their trust.
For just as much as gen'ral knowledge reigns,
So is the freedom which the state maintains.
But all the science which employs the thought
To all mankind could not perhaps be taught: (141)
But human good requires the public mind,
At least to learn and understand that kind,
Which I have mention'd, in a former page;
Let that teach youth when they have reach'd that age,
When minds have gain'd sufficient strength to learn
That most important, yet untaught concern.
What now should form the systematic rules,
Devis'd for all, and taught in public schools,
Has been conceal'd; or else with rage deny'd
By lordly folly, or distinctive pride.

So hard is man, who rules his fellow man,
He seeks his ruin through a long laid plan:
For even knowledge, man has kept confin'd,
And hid the science which should guide the mind.
For vain distinctions, and for childish state,
He adds to evils nature made too great.
He boasts of goodness, boasts of strength of mind,
Declares tis wrong, and yet enslaves his kind.
Thus all his boasts his daily acts refute;
For acts like his do not disgrace the brute.
Go, stupid man! behold the brute less blind;
He boasts not vainly, yet he spares his kind:
The savage tyger does no kindred slay,
Although the fiercest of the beasts of prey.
The lion, driving through the Libyan wood,
Though urg'd by hunger, sheds no kindred blood,
And wolves, though starving on Sarmatian plains,
Are never stain'd by cutting kindred viens.
The only beast to deeds so hellish prone,
Is that ambition which desires a throne;
Or else, that shameless, inconsistent thing,
Which dunces worship by the name of king;
Or pride, pursuing some disgraceful name,
As if in death we reap the fruits of fame.

If heart or head in human deeds directs,
Who fights for honour proves his own defects.
Because he proves, within our mental view,
A want of goodness and of reason too.
Goodness and wisdom constitute the whole

Of that true honor which exalts the soul.
But these would teach us how to save our lives,
To serve our country, children, friends or wives;
And therefore, those who go, unforc'd, to fight
Are void of honor, reason, truth and right.
At least these attributes would teach to shun;
That feud which was, in ruder times, begun;
That feud (142) by which so many men have died;
And like dull coxcombs, show'd their stupid pride.
But, fame in duels, fools will still pursue;
If rogues insult them, they must kill them too.
They look for honor, while they break the laws
Of god and reason in a childish cause.
They leave their parents, infants, wives or friends,
To prove their valor, just as valor ends;
To prove what all ferocious brutes may boast,
The senseless courage of a beast at most.
What fools! that honor, which they wish in vain,
Is lost by deeds from which they hope to gain.
Courage is useless when it serves bad ends;
And they are scoundrels, who desert their friends,
Or quit their parents, daughters, sons or wives.
To end in duels their dishonor'd lives.
Such fame I ask not, nor such honor crave;
It charms the dunce, the villain or the slave.
And yet the foe, who sees their fallen state,
May sneer in triumph at the blockhead's fate.
The vainest coxcombs, we shall always find,
To fights and duels still the most inclin'd.
How many cowards, dreading some disgrace,
Have met to fight; and with a palid face,

Have fought and died, who, if foretold of fate,
Would not have fought to save their native state:
But hope allur'd them to the fatal spot.
And hope still flatter'd till the fools were shot.

One truth there is, which ev'ry one should hear,
However doubtful it may first appear;
Not only hear, but still retain in mind,
And be to ev'ry living creature kind:
'Tis this, that he who does the least offence,
Shall surely do it at his own (143) expence.
By nature's laws, from which no one can flee,
All crimes are punish'd in a just degree:
Each vicious act, as all excesses show,
Will soon be follow'd by its kindred foe.
The pompous knave with all his pomp shall tire,
And feel the pangs which chase unjust desire;
The haughty king, amidst his gilded cares,
Shall feel the weight of all the gold he wears:
For jaded steeds in golden harness sweat;
So kings with fear, and loads of grandeur fret;
And like the steeds when whips excite their fears,
They often quake, and shake their golden gears.
The gout or head-ache makes them dread that hour,
Which snatches monarchs from their lawless pow'r.
And kings and knaves are more expos'd to pains,
Through that excess which fills their turgid veins.
Excess brings fever, fever paints their graves,
Where kings must mix with those they made their slaves;
And there, forgotten, shoot in herbs or grass
To feed the ox, and raise a carnal mass

To form the slaves of those they once controll'd,
Oppress'd or tortur'd, injur'd, bought or sold;
To feel the ills which they like fools increase;
For kings alone, deprive the world of peace:
Not only peace, they call the earth their own,
And reap the harvest which their slaves have sown.
But, thanks to nature, time will change the scene;
And those who reap will then be forc'd to glean;
And those be ridden, who before, could ride;
For thus will time destroy the monarch's pride.
For though great rogues may human laws evade,
Yet, nature's bailiffs, nature's laws will aid.
These foes to vice will ev'ry knave outwit,
Nor pass one crime the sharpest rogues commit.
Let pride, in words, this useful truth deny,
Her breast shall own it with a secret sigh:
For nature's code contains this great decree;
And those must feel, who scorn to hear or see.

Although in bondage men have toil'd so long,
That slaves can hardly tell a right from wrong;
Yet future times shall set the nations free,
And man no more the slave of man shall be.
And though this truth is still with zeal deny'd, (144)
By all the sons of folly, guilt and pride;
Yet they forget that man has found the press,
Which ancient nations never did possess.
The press though once to royal guilt unknown,
Now makes it tremble an a tottering throne
And when set free will quickly banish kings,

Reform mankind, and change the face of things.
The ancients knew no means of spreading truth,
To banish ignorance, and instruct their youth.
This useful art the moderns now possess
To humble tyrants and reduce distress
Yes unrestrain'd and through the world allow'd,
The press shall curb the cruel, and the proud,
Great information to all ranks impart,
To form the judgment, and correct the heart.
Then let the patriot hope for happier days;
The press once freed will soon extend its rays,
And by degrees expel this mental night,
'Till all the earth is wrapp'd in freedom's light.
For spring will come though tempests intervene,
And though the snows diversify the scene:
The spring will come to cheer the coldest clime;
But greater changes take a longer time.
And, therefore, man should not expect one hour
Will alter worlds, or humble mighty pow'r:
Deep ocean lies where fertile lands have been;
And lands will rise where ocean now is seen:
Each sea will change with its adjacent shore,
And take the place its neighbour held before.
And thus will change transpose the seas and plains,
While earth is moisten'd by the dews or rains:
Yet how absurd to think that in a day
The rocks will melt, or mountains wash away:
Or that old ocean, springing from his bed,
Will drive whole states before his stormy head.
The slow procession takes ten thousand years,
To roll the changes round our hemispheres;

Nay, may perhaps, ten hundred thousand take,
To form new countries, and new seas, to make:
And yet more certain no event can be;
For earth is wafted into ev'ry sea.
And though a man may not discern the cause
Of greater blessings, or of milder laws,
A distant cause may have remote effects;
And hence may happen what he least expects.
If individuals change their habits slow,
And seem so loath from beaten paths to go,
If states or nations, still more slowly change
Their ancient laws for customs new or strange;
And if, in time, a nation rise and fall,
A longer time may change the state of all.
Indeed, this age, from what historians say,
Is not as dark as ages (145) pass'd away:
The arts' advancement, ev'ry man may view;
For ev'ry age discovers something new.
If arts advance; to man the arts relate,
And their progression aids the social state.
The attick state, and all republics shew,
That arts thrive best where despots never grow.
This, reason also very clearly proves,
And ev'ry doubt, about the fact removes.
For monarchs hate to hear another's praise,
And men of wisdom very rarely raise;
Indeed, they slay through envy, fear, or hate,
The best and worthiest (146) in the realm or state.
Another's praise excites such hate or dread,
That worth or wisdom dare not lift its head.
Virtue and talents, more than vice and crimes,

Are forc'd to hide, or leave monarchal climes.
Now, if we search through all the days of yore,
Not one example from their ample store,
Can match Columbia (147) since her freedom's birth,
And this alone must prove a change on earth.
The world shall copy from Columbia's rule:
Her laws shall form the world's instructive school.
A fed'ral (148) plan may yet perhaps, embrace
The spacious earth, and all the human race;
At least, each quarter, by such ties combin'd,
May taste the joys which humanize the mind:
Then fed'ral forms may cure statisic strife;
And end one half the moral ills of life,
Here let the foe to man and country pause,
And cease to strive against more wholesome laws.
His hopes, his strife, and dark designs, shall fail,
And truth and freedom will at last prevail.
If war and slaughter still disgrace the age;
The earth advances while tornadoes rage:
And, though, in bondage all the world has been,
The press may change the dismal, dreary scene:
For all new causes, new effects, must bring;
And this new art will banish ev'ry king;
Inform the people, and their foes detect;
And future ages love the grand effect.

The cautious states will wisely guarantee
Each other's freedom, when they once get free:
Despotic spirits, known before they rise,
Shall lack the power to plague the just and wise:
The major part of ev'ry state will know,

That from a war, no good to them, could flow;
And having power, will cure the noisy tools,
Who itch and whine for war's corruptive schools.
A state's defence will not require the aid
Of troops composed of all the vagrant grade.
Thus free'd (149) from ev'ry hostile, vicious band,
Our constitutions wisely form'd, will stand,
And like a rock which bounds the stormy sea,
Will limit knaves, and keep the nations free.
For no pretext can arm ambition's hand,
To stab the freedom which endears the land.
But peace shall hold her universal reign,
And civil freedom cheer the labouring swain,
Whose fertile trees, with sweeter fruit shall bend,
And sweeter fragrance to his senses send;
Whose flow'ry meads, a fatter herd shall feed,
Where fragrant pastures hide his sportive steed;
Whose golden grain, on richer fields shall stand,
Where none can waste his fruit, nor fertile land:
For freedom, still, his best and dearest friend,
Shall guard his crops, and all his steps attend;
Shall heap profusely on his smiling fields,
The various fruits, which bounteous nature yields.
Because the waste, the fear, the toil, the cost,
The limbs, health, virtue, art, and science lost;
And all that nations place to war's account,
Would raise in value, sums of vast amount:
These, if secur'd to those who now complain,
Would make an Eden spread its harmless reign.
If all the produce, mean ambition spoils,

Would pay for more than half the farmer's toils.
What rich abundance, then, will load the plains,
When peace secures what honest labour gains:
When science too, with unretarded flight,
Shall raise mankind to an unequal'd height;
And with improvements, useful, great or grand,
Enrich the people through the peaceful land.
On that great day, the sky shall seem more clear,
And bliss, descending, deign to tarry here:
A kinder sun, shall clearer rays impart,
To break the clouds which hover round the heart:
A brighter green shall robe the verdant trees:
And sweeter odours load the passing breeze:
The plumy tribes, in gayer flocks, shall sing,
And finer groves with softer musick ring;
The careful bees shall traverse hill and dale,
While healthly nature breaths her sweetest gale;
And spread abroad through woodland, grove, and field,
To drink the fragrance which the blossoms yield:
And where the thrush or lonely woodlark sings,
Where countless insects frisk on gaudy wings,
Where harmless lambkins round their mother skip,
The busy bees, a richer dew shall sip:
Their constant hums shall spread a grateful sound,
Wherever sweet and luscious dews are found:
Their straw-built hives, with purer stores shall fill,
And nature's breath, in sweeter dews, distil.
While peaceful buzzing spreads through lawns and trees,
And rural songsters all combine to please:

The fragrant breeze shall waft the dulcet strains,
Where cooler shades refresh the joyful swains :
Content shall reign wherever man appears,
And sounds enchanting strike his raptur'd ears ;
A softer zephyr round his senses play,
And nature smile, and all her robes look gay.
For so, to man, shall those blest times appear,
Though natures self shall be unalter'd here.
Though sick men eat ; the nicest dainties cloy ;
So slaves may live, and yet, no life, enjoy.
A sense impair'd could not afford delight ;
Or men could see although depriv'd of sight.
By hardships dull'd, and worn by troubles, whence
Could slaves draw pleasure through a ruin'd sense !
From their stav'd senses, lively pleasure flies ;
They see, indeed, but see with sickly eyes.
The rural scenes can give them no delight,
Despair and sadness overcloud their sight.
They see no colours deck the western skies ;
Nor mark the clouds' majestic volumes rise.
They notice not the summer's rich perfume ;
Nor landscape, dress'd in spring's delightful bloom.
They see no beauty ; hear no music ring ;
Each sense is sad amidst the joys of spring.
Their eyes may wander over all the green,
And yet its graces may remain unseen.
Cares waste their spirits : hence they seldom heed
Songs, groves, or fragrance, lawns or flow'ry mead.
Their scanty food is, still, through hardship sought ;
Their tasks are hard, and leave no time for thought:

Thus minds grow dull beneath monarchal pow'r ;
And languish daily through each tedious hour.
Thus want of labor makes a part unblest ;
While too much (150) labor weakens all the rest.
Thus man descends from his primeval state
To mental weakness, and unjust debate.
But freedom feeds the senses souls employ ;
And gives the spirits which produce their joy ;
Or gives that health through which our pleasures rise,
Makes all things good, because each sense is wise.
It gives the taste ; repairs the sight to view
The scenes of nature in a richer hue.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.

Every man in society is generally bound to perform certain duties; and these duties may be divided into public and private. By public duties I mean that share of attention, which every one may, and ought to, devote to the affairs of the nation of which he is a member: and that share of assistance which he may, and ought to, give to prevent injustice or slavery. By private duties I mean those which relate to individuals only, and not to mankind in general. Now, if it is wrong to disregard the welfare of any one, it must be infinitely more culpable to disregard the happiness of all: and therefore if we owe any duty to others, or if it is not just for each individual to think of himself only, our first duty to man, is that which we owe to the public. Men who neglect this duty, if they have acquired the name of good husbands, good parents, and good neighbours, are commonly supposed to be just and upright men: but a man, may have supported this character, and may, nevertheless, be a very despicable villain. For a good private character alone, is no proof of goodness. From the motives of interest, pride, or vanity, a man may be solicitous to preserve a good name among his neighbours, at the same time that he feels no concern for their happiness: and he may obtain a good name by

flattery, affability, and address in private intercouse. Hence, though a man is esteemed for his private character, if he shew no anxiety for the welfare or liberty of his country ; if he refuse to spend an hour or cent in its service ; we must necessarily conclude that he is not a just man ; that his character is fallacious and deceitful ; and that, whatever his professions and private conduct may have been, he has no real magnanimity, philanthrophy, or benificence. It is easy to profess a great regard for the people of our neighbourhood ; but it is inconsistent with nature, to feel any disinterested concern for them, and none for all the rest of mankind : and, it is no less incompatible with reason, to be solicitous about their private interests, while we neglect the preservation of their liberty, the security on which those interests must depend.

Private character, to say the least of it, is extremely delusive, and probably deceives more people, than any other criterion. Thus, for instance, a man who is wealthy, if he give more than one who is not so, is generally called a generous man, though perhaps he is really stingy and parsimonious : for the receiver seldom thinks of comparing the gift with the estate of the giver. But he who gives the most is not always the most generous : the most generous man, is he who gives the most in proportion to his estate or circumstance. Hence, the man who gives but one dollar, may be more liberal than he who gives a thousand; and yet he would not generally be considered so. But if he who possesses an hundred cents, give twenty, he is certainly more liberal than he

who possesses two hundred and gives thirty; because he gives more in preportion to his wealth: and even if he gave the same proportion, still he would have but half as much left. Indeed, if we always condsidered donatives in relation to the estate of the doner, we should find that the opulent are seldom as generous as those who possess less. Even, when a man really appears to be generous, it is very difficult to discover whether he is actuated by pride or generosity; for one is often mistaken for the other. Other features in private character, are no less ambiguous. Men who are the most covetous, are generally supposed to be the most industrious; or to have the least aversion to labour. They are indifatigable in the pursuit of wealth; and toil incessantly to gratify their averice by the accumulation of it. He who spends an hour for his country, or looks over a news-paper, they reproach with idleness. But, though they frequently boast of their industry, and declaim against the indolence of others; yet, if they were not so sordidly covetous, they would labour less than those they reproach. One of these egotists, was one day boasting of his industry; and railing against his neighbour for his indolence. A person who was present, asked him, who received the profit of his industry. He answered, himself. Then, said the other, who thanks you for your industry, as long as you are only industrious for yourself? If I was needy or in distress, you would not do half as much to relieve me, as the man whom you slander; hence he is a much better man, and less idle, than you are. Unless you were paid

for it, you would not give a day to save your country from ruin; but he gives many to save both it, and you. This just and unexpected reproof, quite nonplused the niggardly blockhead; and he had no more to say. We too often meet with persons of this discription. Indeed it is generally true, that men who speak, with so much asperity, against their honest neighbours, would scarcely turn their hands to serve another; unless it were in expectation of some favour in return. But, if they will not do as much gratis, as those whom they call lazy, are they not more lazy than those whom they call so? They certainly are; because they will not work for as small a reward. The degree of labour bestowed in charity, or for the benefit of others, is the true test of iudustry. By this test, we should frequently find, that they who boast the most of their labor, and are the most censorious, would do the least without the hope of reward; and are really in their nature the most indolent They may toil more, perhaps, although they have a greater aversion to toil, than one who toils less: for the love of riches may predominate over their indolence; and this is the reason that arverice is mistaken for industry.

I have mentioned these cases to shew, that private character is often the cause of very erronious judgments; and that, from that, men are frequently supposed to be better than they really are.

If a man be truly benevolent, his benevolence would not be confined to a few; but would extend, as far as practicable, to mankind in general. Therefore, though

a man be ever so circumspect or cautious in his private transactions, in order to appear just; yet if he pays no attention to the affairs of the public, he must be either very foolish, or very dishonest. For certainly it is more criminal to omit the duties, which concern the whole community; than those which concern only a part. Consequently we are under a much greater obligation to discharge our public, than our private duties. Because the omission of the former, injures many; but the omission of he latter, injures a few only. Hence, I should not be much mistaken, perhaps, if I were to say, that the sin of neglecting a private duty, is no more to the sin of neglecting a public one; than the sin of injuring one man, is to the sin of injuring millions. But, if our obligations to the community are so much greater, or more sacred, than our obligations to individuals; why are men more generally disposed to perform the latter, than the former? because, by performing the latter, or by conducting themselves with apparent propriety in private concerns, they gain the esteem of their neighbours and acquaintance, without giving any offence; and they think that they promote their own interests, by acting in such a way, as to gain the friendship, or avoid the enmity of mankind. But, if they were active in discharging their duties to the public, instead of conciliating the friendship of their acquaintance, they might incur their hatred or displeasure. They would offend some of them, at least, by this honest policy; and they are apprehensive that any man may possibly have the power to injure them: and so, for the sake of self, they neglect

their most important duties, through the fear of creating enemies; and perform duties of much less moment, for the purpose of making friends. There is, also, another reason, perhaps, by which many of them are influenced; and that is the fear of missing some pecuniary advantage by devoting a little time to the public. But when a man is guided solely by interest, we have no reason to thank him for his service: his own happiness and not ours, is the motive which actuates him. The greatest villains that ever disgraced human nature, may have pursued what they believed to be their own interests; and if they could have obtained their objects, by supporting a good private character, they might have been considered by superficial observers as good men.

The flesh of one man is, strickly, no more connected with ours, than, that of another; and there can be no cause except interest or prejudice, for local partialities. The ties of blood or friendship, may, indeed, make it our duty to be more attentive to some, than to others; but the performance of private duties, can never discharge us from the performance of those, which we owe to the public. It must be selfishness or ignorance, which induces a man to appear so extremely benevolent and upright in the petty, private transactions, which concern a few only; while he neglects the public duties which he owes to those few, and to millions more beside. For, as I observed before, it is inconsistent with reason, if not impossible, to entertain a disinterested wish to promote the happiness of our acquaintance, without feeling some solicitude for the preservation of their liberty; and the

liberty and happiness of others. Liberty is the foundation on which their happiness must rest; and he who wished to support the fabric could not be regardless of its foundation. The man who sustains a good private character, may be proud of his name; and may be called a just, pious, or honest man, a good neighbour, and so forth; but, if he neglects his public duty, he will find it difficult to make men of discernment believe, that he is not, at best, either a stupid fellow, or something worse: for they must rationally conclude that he is either too stupid to know his duty; or too knavish or selfish to perform it. And they will not find much reason to commend that kind of benevolence, which, while it respects the least important interests of a few, disregards the most weighty concerns of all.

He, who marches bravely forward to discharge his duty to the public, and who will not be diverted by friend nor foe, deterred by fear nor corrupted by gold, may be defamed and slandered; he may be stigmatized by every term and epithet of reproach; but, as he is willing to submit to persecution, hatred, and abuse, for the public good, he proves that he is a virtuous man; he proves that he is far superiour to him, who boasts of his private character, and the disregard of national affairs; and would rather injure all men, than submit to the least risk of injuring himself.

As good men are often scandalously vilified for attending to political affairs, I have made this note the more copious and explicit, in order to shew that, so far from being censurable, their attention to the interests

of the commonwealth, is extremely necessary and laudible; and that the same selfishness, which induces some to perform their private duties, also induces them to omit those which are due to the public.

Upon the whole, I must observe, that whatever others may think, for my own part, I would not confide in that man's goodness, who appears kind and generous to those whom he thinks it is his interest to serve, and cruel and illiberal to all the world beside.

NOTE 2. The United States of America,

NOTE 3. Many of the ancient democratical states were depraved and ruined by their intercourse with monarchical governments: and indeed the influence of monarchy was one of the concurrent and principal causes of the destruction of all of them.

Athens, one of the freest, and most celebrated of the Grecian states, was ruined by the vicious practices of the kings of Persia: and Macedonia. These monarchs kept their emissaries in that republic to create factions, and internal dissentions; or instigate her to engage in some ruinous and unnecessary war. Her orators were bribed to mislead the people; or to accuse and destroy those who faithfully served them. By these wicked intrigues, it too often happened, that men, who were the most capable of defendi g the republic, were banished, or rendered unpopular. In some instances they were even put to death. But the people were not easily deceived: and were seldom, if ever, hurried by false or frivilous accusations, to inflict capital punishments on their benefactors, until corruption had been introduced; and

they had lost a great share of their independence. Even after some of their statesmen were put to death, on the false information of men, secretly instigated by foreign princes, the people, when they discovered the deception and injustice, showed the utmost indignation against those infamous accusers.

Many of the public speakers were notoriously guilty of bribery. Some of them were actually convicted of the offence: and it is highly probable, that many were guilty, who were never suspected. However the secret influence of Persian and Macedonian gold, produced the most of those evil counsels and consequent calamities, which are recorded in the history of that State.

The other republics of Greece were subject to the same influence. Through the detestable artifices and briberies of nefarious monarchs they were frequently embroiled with each other; and, being gradually corrupted and weakened by the intrigues of foreign and domestic profligates, they were at last totally subverted and destroyed by the king of Macedonia.

The subversion of the Roman Republic, was probably owing to a similar cause. The Romans were not perhaps so much subject to bribery; but their wars and intercourse with monarchical governments, was the occasion of that deluge of depravity which ruined them. How far bribery assisted is uncertain; but it was well known that Pompey, and Cæsar, received large sums of money from Ptolemy Auletes, for their influence at Rome.

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Bribery has not merely a tendency to involve a nation in wars, which might be avoided, but to enable the ambitious, with the bribes they receive and the money they obtain in such wars, to gain partizans, and contaminate the community.

Note 5. All the various forms of government which have appeared in the world, have been very naturally divided into three classes. These are Democracy, Oligarchy, and Monarchy. Under these three divisions, every species of government which can possibly exist, is comprehended. A democracy is a form of government by which the people retain the supreme authority; and in which they exercise, either by themselves or their agents, the power of making, construing, and executing the laws. It is the only free government; and it is divided into two species: one of which is a derivative, complex, or representative democracy; and the other, a primative, simple, or collective democracy. In a representative democracy, the people exercise the powers of government, by their agents or representatives, who are elected to serve for certain periods, and restricted by a written constitution, which specifies their powers, and their terms of service; and acknowleges the sovereignty of the people. This form is chosen, where the extent of country, or the number of its inhabitants, makes it inconvenient or impracticable for the people to meet, in one body, to enact and enforce their laws. It may be variously modified with respect to the distribution and extent of its power; the number of its representatives; and their periods of service. But if the powers

given are too extensive; placed in an improper department; or, continued in the same hands too long, or too short a time, they never fail to become dangerous.

A primative, simple, or collective democracy, is a government, in which the people personally and collectively, and without the assistance or intervention of delegates, enact laws, and administer justice.

An Obligarchy, which is often improperly called an Aristocracy, is a government, which vests the sovereign power in the hands of a few persons, and their heirs, or persons whom they appoint for their successors.

A monarchy is a government, which vests the supreme authority in the hands of one man and his heirs, or persons whom he appoins to succeed him.

Some writers have divided monarchy into limited, and absolute, or despotic monarchy. But a limited monarchy is a visionary government, which exists no where but in the imagination; at least it can have no permanent existence. I shall not deny, that in theory, a mixt or composite government may be formed, and infinitely diversified, by taking different portions of political principles; or by uniting parts of different kinds of governments. But, in practice, though the principles of democracy, obligarchy and monarchy, or of any two of them, may appear to be united; yet even while that appearance continues, the power will be lodged in one, or vibrating from one to the other, until it ultimately settles in monarchy.

An unambitious monarch, may submit to the formalities and appearances of a nominal limitation; but ex-

perience has shewn, that whenever a throne is occupied by an ambitious man, these counterfeit limitations are broken like cobwebs. The reigns of Henry VIII, of England, and Gustavus III. of Sweden, sufficiently prove the truth of these remarks. But if any more proof be necessary, the conduct of many other kings can also bear testimony to their truth.

Gustavus encompassed the Legislative body with a military force; and while his soldiers with lighted matches in their hands, stood over the cannon which were pointed towards the Assembly; he broke down in a single day, all the appearances of a limitation, though he had, but a few days before, solemnly sworn to support them.

One of those governments which have been called limited monarchies, is that of Great Britain. But it is so far from being limited, that it contains no provision, by which the king is declared to be responsible for his misconduct. But, on the contrary, some of the most celebrious and authentic expounders of English law, have laid it down to be a fundamental principle of their government, that the king can do no wrong; and that he is not answerable, in any human tribunal, nor liable to any punishment, for any act which he may think proper to commit. Now the meaning of this English techical maxim, that the king can do no wrong, is not that they are impeccable, or too good to do wrong, (for their subjects have had many melancholy proofs of the contrary,) but that no act which they can possibly do, is wrong in the eye of the law: for they have made no law against

it; neither is there any constitution, by which the king can be punished for his crimes. Indeed, in a political sense, there is no constitution in England. The people have never been permitted to make any; and unless systematic violence, or arbitrary power, can be called a constitution, there is none there. Where, then, is the limitation? Is it in a constitution? they have none. Is it in Magna Charta? Magna Charta is a mere statute, which has no more force than another statute; and may be repealed at any time: for that statute did not constitute the government, but the government constituted the statute; and their spurious or sham legislators, have generally been ready to revoke any statute on the slightest intimation from their master. I say master, but if it were not too presumptious, he might be called their creator; for he, and those whom he appoints, form two branches of the legislature; and the third is chiefly composed of his secret pensioners and tools.

The learned professors of the laws of England, have called the power of their government omnipotent; and the king their sovereign: they have said in express terms that his person was sacred, and that no jurisdiction on earth had power to try him in a criminal way, much less to condemn him to punishment: and yet, after all, they endeavour to deceive us, by the scandalous assertion, that the government is limited. The majority of the people have not a single representative; and no rule which they have established, can impose any restriction on the government; and yet it is limited. The kings person is sacred, intangible, above the laws, and not lia-

ble to be restrained or punished; and yet he is a limited monarch. Wonderful limitation! to what lengths will not servility and flattery carry the human mind! But as those able expounders of law have contended that the government of England is limited, lest such honorable men should be suspected of falsehood or hypocrisy, I will search still further for the limitation. And one kind of limit has just occurred to me, which is, perhaps, the one intended by those authors, for they were undoubtedly as conscious of it as I am. The government of England has been in the practice of squeezing all the taxes from the people, which can possibly have been extorted; and as it can have obtained no more, it has certainly been limited. Thus, after so much inquiry, I have, finally, discovered the limitation. But still, if this physical boundary denominates a limited monarchy, all monarchies are limited: for the same kind of restriction has circumscribed the Grand Seignor, and all other despots; and this boundary, not one of them has been able to remove.

Monarchs who possessed and exercised the most despotic power, were sometimes, in fear of their subjects, or of powerful favourites: and, if they had used the English resemblance of limitation, or deception of checks and balances, they would have been no more limited than they were; and perhaps not so much. If a man be a monarch, he has the sovereign power; and how can those who are subject or subordinate, restrict those who are supreme? or how can the smaller power restrain the greater? The will of monarchs is the only

durable limitation, which is compatible with the nature of monarchies: and the only difference between them if there be any, is transitory, and arises from the different dispositions of different princes and subjects.

If a government composed of the three kinds, could possibly exist, or become permament; the evils attending it would be in exact proportion to the principles of monarchy and oligarchy which it contained; because democracy is the best and monarchy the worst of all possible governments.

NOTE 5. The manner in which monarchical power is originally obtained, is generally the same. The person who acquires it, commences his career by attracting the attention of the vicious. This he does by servility, flattery, falsehoods, promises, and presents. When he has gained their attachment by these means, and their confidence by the audacity of his crimes; and has, in this manner, rendered himself conspicuous, he naturally becomes the centre, round which all descriptions of profligates, whether rich or poor, are organized for the subversion of their countrie's happiness. These miserable reptiles spread through the nation; and speak of their chief with real or pretended admiration. Their lips are employed in singing his praises: they magnify his abilities: exaggerate his achievment: extol all his actions, but such as they endeavour to conceal; and are ready, on all occasions, with their voices and influence to serve him. When they suppose that they are sufficiently numerous, their boldness increases; they become more clamorous; and begin to employ menaces,

persecutions, and violence. In this manner, fear, hope, deception and corruption, are employed in the service of a vicious or foolish leader. The cowardly are induced to submit through the fear of violence or injury; the needy and the avaricious are seduced by gifts, employments, or the hope of them; the ignorant are deceived by plausible falsehoods; and the depraved are led by the gratification of their vices, and their hatred of virtue. When the ambitious leader of these systematic robbers, has raised himself on their backs; and is by their means, sufficiently elevated and clothed in power, he uses the sword to confirm that which he had obtained by deception and fraud: and, as soon as his supporters have become sufficiently tame and obsequious, he calls himself their king and master; and organizes all the hypocrites in the nation, under the pervered name of religion, to cover and perpetuate his systimatic crimes. In this shameful manner, all dynastics are commenced: and every monarch in existence has derived his title from usurpation. One generation can have no right to choose rulers or representatives for another; nor to bind them to support any particular form of government: consequently they can have no right to establish monarchy. It is very extraordinary that the votaries of this kind of government, are unable to perceive that the knave who courts them with praises and presents, is merely giving them a trifle, in order that he may be able to rob them of an hundred fold more than he gives. They call him a damned, generous, clever fellow without ever considering, that men of his description

never give unless they expect to receive; and that, in giving, they are only throwing a minny to catch a whale.

NOTE 6. If a son's rights, after he has passed his minority, are equal to his father's; or if a son, after his father's decease, is entitled to the same privileges which his father possessed; the rights of all ages or generations are equal. But if the present generation erect a monarchy, they not only establish a governmet for themselves, but at the same time, by the very nature of the establishment, preclude future generations, from the exercise of an equal power. Because, at the same time that they exercise the power of choosing a government, they prevent posterity from doing the same. Consequently all monarchy is unjust and wicked, even if the whole community in which it is established consent to it: because it is a demonstrable infringement of the rights of posterity.

Nothing is more evidently unjust, than an act, by which one man deprives another of an agreeable or useful privilege without any benefit to himself. Therefore, as the political regulations of the present generation, could not possibly have affected the people of the last age, it would have been highly unjust if they had, by any act of theirs, bound their descendants to serve any particular man and his heirs; and, by that means, had deprived them of the power of making such rules as would be most agreeable and useful to themselves. Because it is certainly an agreeable privilege, for a nation to govern themselves by their own laws, as they may think proper and expedient. But when a prior genera-

tion establishes a monarchy, they bind the subsequent generations, their posterity, to servitude : and rob them of an agreeable privilege without any possible benefit to themselves.

NOTE 7. As it is impossible to receive any trust or authority from the people of future ages ; or to have any concern with them, it must be enormously foolish or malignant, to subject a nation to the control of a scoundrel, or even to the possibility of it, just as we are departing from the world. Yet this is what those would do, who are in favour of monarchy : for to declare that a man's heirs, whether they shall be fools or savages, shall have the intire rule and disposal of a whole nation, is to subject those we leave behind, or to attempt to subject them, not merely, to the possibility, but to the probability ; nay, almost to the certainty, of being governed either by a blockhead or scoundrel. But this subject will be more particularly illustrated in a subsequent place.

NOTE 8. It would be a cause of the greatest astonishment, if the majority of any nation, should voluntarily establish royalty : and thus rest their very existance on the poor, perishable contexture of a deceptive, fallible inconstant, or corruptable, human brain. That mutable brain, which is liable to be impaired by a thousand accidents ; or to be changed by idleness and luxury, drunkeness or disease. Men ought to reflect, before they subject their lives and estates to the unlimited control of an individual, that, that individual may change with a change of fortune : and may, the moment he is invested with sovereignty, become a monster, implaca-

ble in cruelty, and insatiable of blood: and that he may destroy, not only, those who opposed him; but those also, who raised him to power. If he become a madman, and make use of his power, to slaughter his defenceless subjects; or if his folly waste their revenues, or misdirect their military operations; till the nation are driven to the very brink of perdition, where can a remedy be found? No where, but in his death, which, if it happen, may happen too late; and could not restore life to those, whom his folly or madness had destroyed.

NOTE 8. Historians have given us an account of monarchs, who used to set up whole nights, to amuse themselves, amidst the most inhuman and shameful executions. This may seem like an exaggeration to those who are unacquainted with royal amusements, but it is too well attested to be false.

NOTE 10. Claudius I. Emperor of Rome, was so extremely and brutally stupid, that he would frequently order his minions to invite persons to supper, whom he had put to death the day before: and even in a few hours after he had given orders for executions, he would deny that he had given them. It is affirmed that he was so unconcerned in the midst of carnage, that, when a tribune brought him an account of a senator who had been executed by his command, he had quite forgotten his sentence and his offence; but thought it was not a matter of any importance; and so acquiesced without any inquiry. So even when he was informed of the execution of his wife, Messalina, he shewed not

the least sign of concern: and, the next day at dinner, asked why Messaina was absent, as if he had entirely forgotten her fate. He put many of his subjects to death without trial or proof: and among them, there were several of his near relations, who had unfortunately excited his envy or suspicion. Like all other tyrants, he was extremely suspicious; and those whom he suspected could not hope to escape without ransoming their lives with their fortunes, I shall not particularize all his offences; for that would probably be impossible. I have given a specimen of them: and that is sufficient.

NOTE 11. Although the Roman Emperor, Caligula, kept a brothel, and a gameing house, in his palace, and obtained immense sums by gaming, prostitution, and taxation; still they were all insufficient to satisfy him; and he would often put men to death for their estates. Sometimes, however, he would take their fortunes without taking their lives. For, one day, as he was setting at the gaming table, he saw two rich knights passing through the court; and rising suddenly from his seat, he confiscated their estates; and then boasted to his companions, that he never had a better throw in his life.

NOTE 12. The emperor Vitellius, was such a complete brute; and so entirely destitute of sensibility; that, when a creditor came to salute him, and to pay him homage, he ordered him to be executed. With equal brutality, he ordered two young men to be put to death, together with their father, merely because they

had ventured to petition him for their fathers pardon. The father, I believe, was one of the emperors creditors, and to intercede, or supplicate for a creditor, was too great an offence to be given; even when it was induced by filial affetcion. At another time, when a Roman knight who was condemned to die, cried out that he had made the emperor his heir; Vitellius demanded the will; and finding that he was made joint heir or devisee with another, he commanded the executioner to put the other devisee and the devisor, both to death, that he might enjoy the whole estate.

NOTE 13. The emperors Caligula, Claudius, and others, would not hesitate to grant pardons to the most malicious and profligate assassins, if they had money to purchase them. By their conduct therefore crimes must have been vastly increased; for where pardons are sold the perpetration of crimes will become a trade, in which the adventurer will merely study to procure more by the offence, than he must pay for the pardon.

NOTE 14. While the emperor Nero, was in the habit of appearing on the stage, in the character of a singer, he met with a playactor, who unfortunately possessed a prodigious sweetness and loudness of voice and no less skill in the modulation of it. The latter as might be expected desired to please his audience: and for that purpose innocently exerted the rare and extraordinary talent which art and nature, had given him. He had no design of giving offence; but because he surpassed the emperor in vocal melody, that stupid and ridicalous performer ordered him to be killed on the spot.

Another fact, not unworthy of being mentioned, as it tends to shew the malignity or vanity of monarchs, occured in the reign of the Roman emperor Domitian. Salustius Lucullus Lieutenant in Britain, invented a new kind of lances, to which, as he was the inventer, he thought himself authorised to give his own name. He accordingly called them by his own name, and, for this, and this only, the emperor Domitian put him to death.

The banishment of philosophers from Rome is another proof of the envy or emptiness of monarchs: and of their inveterate and rancorous enmity to men of talents or excellence.

NOTE 15. Even the emperor Vespacian, who was called a great prince, and who was probably less vicious than the majority of princes; used to promote the most rapacious officers to the government of provences that he might share in their plunder.

NOTE 16. The emperors of Rome generally employed a vast number of secret spies and informers. And none were more remarkable perhaps for the number of their spies than Nero. In his reign bands of soldiers were seen, not only in Rome, but in all parts of the country, in pursuit of suspected persons.

NOTE 17. Offences against females, were frequently committed by the Roman monarchs. The emperor Tiberius, though he had a most disgustful appearance, and was as loathsome as he appeared, violated the chastity of many of the fairest ladies of Rome. It is even said that but few of them escaped him.

The emperor Caligula, who was equally notorious for the same kind of violence, being present at the marriage of Oristilla with Piso, took her from her husband, as soon as the ceremony was performed, dismissed her in a few days, and then banished her for cohabiting with her husband. Let those who have ever been married ponder on this. Let them ask their hearts how they would have felt, if they had met with such barbarous treatment. How would the bridegroom feel, if, at the moment of his marriage, some infernal caitiff had snatched the innocent object of his love from his arms to be abused by nauseous embraces; and, afterwards, banished into foreign lands; and compelled to live among strangers, far from the idle of her heart, and the consolation of her friends. Would not rage, disappointment, and dispair, fill his heart with anguish; and would he not think and exclaim, that an act of more wanton and hellish cruelty, could not possibly be committed? Surely, every one must agree that such crimes are abominably atrocius; and ought to be eradicated. And there is no other way to do this, than to abolish their causes, which are monarchical governments.

As princes are at least as lustful as other men, and have power to gratify their passions; crimes against the female sex must frequently occur in monarchies. But they are often concealed; and seldom or never complained of: because, to complain would be ineffectual, and generally fatal to the complainant.

NOTE 18. The emperor Commodus who was a man of uncommon strength, meeting a corpulent man

in the street, cut him in two, with a stroke of his sword. He who met with this misfortune was walking peaceably along at the time he was killed. He was not suspected of any offence: and Commodus murdered him for no other purpose than to try his strength; or to see the man's entrails fall out at once, on the pavement. But as this was a single and momentary act, operating on one person only, it was a trivial offence, in comparison with the general devastation and slaughter which frequently took place. The inhabitants of Rome and other places, were often attacked by the flames on one side, and the sword on the other. But it connot be expected that I can particularise so many various calamities. Those who wish to see a particular account of these events, must examine the histories of ancient Rome.

NOTE 19. The emperor Tiberious was one of those savage and jealous monsters, who misinterpret the most innocent actions; and suspected every man who approaches them, except their minions. As he was one day viewing some persons on t he rack, he was told that an old frieed had come from Rhodes to see him. This information immediately excited suspicion; and by his orders, the man, (though guiltless, and probably the friend of his youth,) was immediately put to the torture. And though Tiberius was soon convinced that his friend was innocent, he, nevertheless, put him to death, for no other reason than because he had injured him.

NOTE 20. In the reigns of Nero, and some other monarchs, crowds, loaded with chains, were led every day to the gate of the pulace, to hear their sentence from the emperor's own lips.

NOTE 21. The emperor Claudius, Nero, and others, generally presided in person, at the place of execution, either for the purpose of enjoying the torments of those they had condemned; or lest, that even the hardened and bloody executioner might relent, and feel too much compassion for innocence, to inflict all the different tortures, which they had decreed, The emperor Caracalla was so much delighted with the miseries of others, that he used to set up all night to torture those, whom he had unjustly condemned.

NOTE 22. The provinces of the Roman Empire, were in no better situation than Rome. Hundreds of people of all ranks, were daily dragged before Roman Proconsuls or Pretors. and cruelly mangled or destroyed by engines of torture. In some reigns, great numbers were tormented for professing Christianity; and in others, for professing paganism. And frequently, when competitors were contending for the empire, one of the rivals, in order to gain some advantage of the other, would invite the barbarians to waste whole provinces, and burn and destroy, millions of innoffensive people. At other times, the provinces, robbed of their internal means of protection, were left exposed to all the furry of their brutal enemies: while the emperors infatuated by debauchery, paralized the arm of national defence.

into which the city was divided, only four remained intire. The rest were reduced to a heap of rubbage.

While thousands, and perhaps millions of people, were destitute of shelters, and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather; the emperor, on the ruins which he had so wickedly occasioned, erected a magnificient palace; and with wanton profusion, incrusted the walls with gold. Thus, the ground, which was once the property and support of so many useful citizens, was barbarously wrested from them, and converted into a garden and residence, for one man; and that one, a disgrace to human nature.

A second conflagration of Rome, occurred in the reign of the emperor Maximinus. This was occasioned by the Pretorian band, or emperor's life guard. They fired the city; and during the continuauce of the flames, attacked and slaughtered the citizens.

NOTE 30. The emperor Heliogabalus, was so stupidly extravagant, that whenever he wished to ride, he ordered his slaves to spread gold dust on the ground, tha he might walk on it to the place where his horse stood.

NOTE 31. The emperor Caracalla, commanded his soldiers to attack a numerous and crowed audience, merely because they could not relish the performance of a certain charioteer, whom he happened to favour.

NOTE 32. Could any thing be more prodigiously enormous in nature; could any thing be more monstrously discordant to our feelings, than the sight of an ugly, mawhish, loon, or strippling, like Caligula or Nero,

setting to judge such aged, grave, venerable, and exemplary sages, as Phocian or Seneca; arrogantly and insolently asking them impertinent questions; and delivering them, guiltless, into the hands of an executioner, and commanding him to put them to death? If there is any thing in being, more incongruous and disgustful, than that state of things, which enables such royal, pueruile nincompoops, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, to dispose of the lives of men, the most honourable for their age, wisdom and justice; I am unable to discover it.

NOTE 33. It must be evident to men of discernment, that all monarchs will gratify their evil inclinations. If they are sovereign, no one can control them: and no motive could induce them to hold illegitimate power by violence; unless it was the desire of such gratifications, as they could not receive without; and such as equal laws would not tolerate.

NOTE 34. The emperor Nero sat fire to the city of Rome; was delighted by the conflagration, and made it the object of his derision. See note 28.

NOTE 35. When Alexander, king of Macedonia, who was called the great, but whose soul was really little, lost his chief favourite, Hephestion, he fell like a beast or a madman, on the defenceless Cussaeans; and exterpated the whole nation; sparing neither male nor female, infancy nor age. This he called a sacrifice to the ghost of his friend, or favourite: although this favourite, or rather shadow, to whose shade, so many innocent people were immolated, lost his life by his glut-

tony and drunkenness; for his death was occasioned by eating a capon, and drinking a large draught of wine, while he was indisposed by a fever. Glaucus, who was his physician, and who was at that time at the theatre, was crucified by Alexander, because he could not restrain the voracity of his patient; or because that patient would not refrain from sensual gratifications, agreeably to the doctor's prescription.

For the loss of this sycophant, Alexander counterfeited much grief: I say, counterfeited, because it is scarely conceivable, that one, who was too stupid and brutal to feel any compassion for so many inoffensive people, could feel much sorrow for a profligate parasite, whom he himself called a cypher; and had previously threatened to destroy. What confirms this opinion is, that, after he had employed the deception of Oracles, his pretended grief instantly vanished; and he was seen drinking and rioting in his usual manner. Now, as it is evidently not the nature of grief to disappear suddenly, and be succeeded by joy and revelry; therefore, for some purpose, he must have assumed a fictitious or counterfeit grief. But this was not the first time, that he feigned excessive sorrow and lamentation; for, when he had killed, with his own hand, a person who had saved his life in battle; perceiving by their silence, that he had offended many of his principal officers; and apprehending that he might lose their confidence, and perhaps that of the army; he assumed all the furious airs of a madman; and rolled in the dirt, not like the god he pretended to be, but like a beast, which was destitute of

a rational faculty. This was done to deceive the army; and induce them to think, that he really repented the crime of destroying one whom they so greatly esteemed. But none but the credulous can believe, that he, who could put such a man as the philosopher Callesthenes to death; and who could destroy many of his own, best friends, could feel much pity or sorrow for any of his minions; even if they had been as worthless, and as abandoned as himself.

NOTE 36. Sapor, the son and successor of Artaxeres, king of Persia, laid the bodies of his prisoners in the holes and hollows of the roads, over which he intended to pass; and barbarously drove over them, with his carriages.

This was the same Sapor, who made the Roman emperor Valerian a prisoner; and, after keeping him some time to step on when he mounted his horse, flayed him alive; and, like a most notable savage, tanned his skin.

NOTE 37. If the generality of mankind would merely consult the nature of their own passions and propensities, they would be convinced of the pernicious tendency of royalty. The passions of monarchs are, at least, as violent as those of other men: and if laws are necessary to restrain the passions of others; they must be, at least, equally necessary to restrain theirs. Hence it must be a downright and monstrous folly, to free any man from the wholesome restrictions of law or responsibility: especially as the propensities of that class of men who aspire to monarchy, are as I shall subsequently

show, more malignant and injurious, than the propensities of other men.

If kings were gods, they could not claim more than they arrogate, under all their imperfections and defects: and nothing less than infalibility or perfection, could merit the unlimited powers which they exercise.

It is not only one passion which is to be dreaded; almost every passion, when invested with regal power, has a tendency to destroy the peace or harmony of society. It has been observed by historians, that Tiberius's cruelty arose from suspicion; and Caligula's from prodigality. Hence, one may be cruel from fear; another from the love of pleasure; another, from avarice; another, from anger; another, from envy; another, from jealousy; and, in short, from almost every passion which agitates the mind. Even love and grief, if Alexander loved his favourite; or grieved at his death; may be the cause of the cruelty of kings; and the consequent misery and distruction of mankind.

NOTE 38. That fame which courtiers acquire by the favour of monarchs, is what no man, who was not tinctured with madness or prejudice, and as servile as a spaniel, would desire. What could induce an intelligent mind to desire the renown of courtiers? the favour of kings is mostly acquired by mean and criminal assiduities; and, if not always obtained by iniqnity, it is never preserved without crimes, adulation and servitude. Besides, those who acquire it, generally lose it; are in constant anxiety and danger while they possess it,

and mostly end their lives by violence or public execution.

Their masters fame is despicable; but theirs is, if possible, still more contemptible than their masters. It may, for a moment, attract the attention of fools or children; but it will pass away like a shadow.

NOTE 39. Torture is indubitably the fruit and consequence of monarchy: and monarchs are clearly intitled to all the honour of its invention. Rightful governments do not require it; and, where the will of the people is the law, any thing so abominably inconsistent with reason and humanity, would not be tolerated. Just establishments do not require the support of unjust means. But kings, knowing their dominion to be unrighteous, are in constant fear of loosing it; either by the indignation of the people; or by the attempts of a rival. To prevent this, and secure the power of committing crimes with impunity, they employ the terrors of torture. In a democracy, they who are invested with authority can have no motive for penal torture; or, if they have, they have no power to inflict it: because it is contrary to the will of a free people. But there is not the same inducement; the officers of government are safe. They are not in fear of the people; for they hold their authority by their consent: nor of a competitor; for if they were destroyed he could not take their place. But it is not so in monarchies: there an heir, or chief officer, knowing that the crown was originally obtained by violence, and not by the voice of the people supposes that nothing more is necessary to obtain it,

than to destroy him who has it. Princes are tought to know this; and many of them know it by experience. They know, also, that there are strong inducements to remove them, for their iniquity, as well as for their crown; or the illegality of their power. Hence they are so generally and unreasonably suspicious. Because it is the interest of the nation to destroy them, they suspect every man they meet. If a man look awry; if he blush at their folly; or be unable through his sensibility, or want of hypocrasy, to govern his countenance: he is immediately ordered to be tormented for the discovery of plots and conspiricies.

A crown is such a fine plaything in the eyes of princes, that they appear disposed even to excrutiate a whole nation to insure it. In their opinions the miseries of men are nothing in comparison with this toy; and therefore, the slightest cause of suspicion, or a mere possibility of a discovery, is held sufficient to justify the severest tortures.

NOTE 40. If a monarch has destroyed, or wishes to destroy any particular man, all who envy him, either for his goodness, wisdom, or learning; and all the parasites who have an interest in his ruin; join to increase the clamour against him. So if a man has any grudge or animosity against him, he may be made a fit instrument to carryon the diabolical work of a tyrant. He who has the riches of a nation at his disposal, can certainly employ every man in his service, who wishes for many unlawful gratifications. Even if men have strong attachments to their favourites, friends, or families, they

may, unless they are well fortified by virtue, be made unjustly subservient by the wealth of kings. In this way all the malignant passions may be employed, for the destruction of an obnoxious individual.

NOTE 41. Marcus Tullius Cicero the Roman Orator.

NOTE 42. Lepidus, Augustus, and Antonius, a Roman Triumvirate. These Triumvirs or three monarchchal copartners met together on an island, and proscribed all the most worthy men in their country. They even mutually agreed to sacrifice some of their best friends to their ambition or malice. No men ever contracted in a more royal, more satamical, and more deliberately cruel manner, to betray their nearest relations, and greatest benifactors. Besides persons of less distintion and those who fell in their contests afterwards, three hundred senators, and two thousand nights, were destroyed; and their estates, seized from their wives and orphans to give to Jack puddings, juglers and ravinous parasites. In this manner the property of the most innocent and helpless was taken to give to such as had nothing to reccommend them, but their servility, meaness and bestiality.

NOTE 43. Marcus Antonius, one of the Roman Triumvirs. See note 42.

NOTE 44. Cato the younger.

NOTE 45. Julius Cæsar, the first of the name of Cæsar who usurped monarchical power in Rome.

NOTE 46. Cato was too just and humane to delight in war; but his bravery or magnanimity is indis-

putable. Cæsar, who was hurried into so many dangers and crimes, by his excessive and boundless ambition; never evinced, by any action of his life, half as much true bravery, as Cato displayed in his opposition to the infamous decree, proposed by Metellus, for calling Pompey and his army into Italy. Indeed, if candidly weighed, it must be admitted, that all the valour of Cæsar was cowardice, when compared to this single action. Nay, the valour of any ambitious man, or selfish royalist, must appear like cowardice in comparison with Catonian virtue.

NOTE 47. Lucius Annæus Seneca, a stoic Philosopher, and tutor to Nero.

NOTE 48. It is said that Seneca lived entirely on fruit and water; and that, by this abstemious life, he disappointed the private designs of Nero, who had secretly employed a minion, by the name of Cleonic, to poison him.

NOTE 49. In the reign of Caracalla, Papinianus, who had acquired a reputation by his eloquence was put to death by that emperor; for refusing to palliate his attrocities, or write his vindication. But if he had possessed more precaution, and had concealed his talents, he might possibly have saved his life.

The physicians, whom Caracalla put to death for omitting to dispatch his father, were also brought into danger, by their science or abilities. But their situation was different from that of Papinian: he might have escaped, perhaps, by prostituting his talents; but they had no option, by which they could have avoided their fate.

If they had dispatched the father, as the son had directed, they would, nevertheless, have been put to death by the son; either to prevent them, or deter others, from committing a similar act upon him, or to conceal his offence.

NOTE 50. The history of several of the Roman Emperors, and (especially that of Nero,) demonstrates the danger of entrusting any man with monarchal or sovereign power.

At the commencement, and in the early part of their reigns, they wore the mask of justice, in order to establish their reputations; and secure the possession of the throne. But when they thought themselves sufficiently fortified in power, they became as ferocious as wild beasts; torturing and slaughtering all who came in their way.

It is said that Nero, in the first part of his riegn, was so effectually masked in the garb of virtue, that his most intimate friends were unable to discover his true character. When the first death warrant was presented to him, to obtain his signature, he pretended to be so much affected, as to wish that he was unable to write. And yet, soon after this, he could preside at executions, to feast his eyes on the torments of those, who were excruciated around him. Hence, we may easily perceive how unjust and hazardous it must be, to trust any man, however just he may appear, with sovoreign power.

NOTE 51. Historians affirm, that the Romans, in the reign of Nero, were so abominably depraved by his crimes, and those of his minions, that no one was

safe; not even parents, from the attempts of their children.

They also inform us, that other empires and kingdoms have been equally polluted and debased, by a similar cause; as I shall shew more particularly hereafter.

NOTE 52. We are told, that Nero himself, would often disguise himself, and go out at night, with some of his infamous companions, to commit all kinds of outrage on his peaceable and defenceless subjects.

NOTE 53. Seneca's wife's name was Paulina.

NOTE 54. If we judge from the nature of monarchal situations, many of the crimes which have been committed by princes, must have been concealed from the public: many must have been forgotten; and many omitted, by timorous, venal, or credulous historians.

The propositions of this sentence, I shall consider separately; in order to elucidate them by such facts and observations, as may appear pertinent. And, as to the first, that many of the crimes which have been committed by monarchs, must have been concealed from the public; I must observe, that as they have so many opportunities for perpetration and concealment, it must be admitted, that such as are not extremely stupid or thoughtless, would naturally hide many of their atrocities. That they often feel an inclination to do it, is obvious from the detection of many clandestine offences: one of which, was that of Mithridates, king of Pontus. After Mithridates was defeated by the Romans, it was discovered by some papers, which he had neglected to

destroy, and which fell into the hands of Pompey, that he had poisoned his own son, Ariarathes, and divers others, particularly Alcacus the Sardian, because he had surpassed him in a horse race. These offences would probably never have been discovered, if the royal perpetrator had not been subdued by the Romans.

The emperor Nero, affords another instance of a similar inclination, in the secret attempt he made to procure the death of Seneca. Before he had entirely abandoned himself to infamy and reproach, he liked the crime, or wished to commit it, but he disliked the odium, which it must have drawn on him, if it had been known that he had committed it: and therefore, he secretly employed Cleonic, as I have before related, to administer poison. But, when this design failed, and he had lost all respect for public opinion; he relied on his prerogative, and committed the crime openly.

Another instance, tending to shew the desire which monarchs often have to conceal their atrocities, may be found in the conduct of Catharine II. empress of Russia. That empress, conscious of the wickedness of her administration, and fearful that some attempts might be made to release prince Iwan from his confinement; placed him in the hands of two of her assassins; and commanded them, if any attempt should be made to rescue him, to kill him immediately. After this order was given, she privately engaged a young officer of infantry, to make a fictitious effort to liberate him: and upon this pretended danger of rescue, the prince was

is always pernicious; and that it may and ought to be avoided.

NOTE 55. Monarchs of all ages have claimed a total exemption from the penalties of human laws. They have asserted, that they were not accountable, in any earthly tribunal, for their crimes; and, this impunity, they have usually maintained by violence or military outrage. Hence the conclusion follows, that they who assist in the establishment of regal government, entrust an individual, not merely with their property, but with their persons and lives, without any legal security for the protection of either. This slavish doctrine of regal impunity, or irresponsibility, prevails even in England, although her government is, by some writers, called a limited monarchy. Accordingly in that country, there is no law by which a king can be punished, even for the most atrocious crimes. It is held to be a maxim in the English law, that his person is sacred, or, that he is not justly responsible to society. (see note 4.) The history of England does not furnish an instance, in which a king has been brought into a court of justice to answer for his atrocities; except it was in those cases in which he was deposed; and the power wrested from him by the struggles of civil war. Therefore the government of England is as tyranical and despotic as any other, whenever an ambitious monarch chooses to exert his power. And they who support that, or any other monarchical government, entrust a man with their lives, without binding him, by any penal or legal obligation, not to abuse or destroy them. Yet those persons

who seem so willing to commit their lives and persons to the unlimited control of an individual, would not be willing to lend a dollar, without a bond, or some other lawful security.

NOTE 56. I shall lay it down as a maxim, that if any man desire monarchy knowing its consequences, he is, as to that act at least, insane. And persons insane are incapable of legally conveying their own estates; and consequently, no less incapable of conveying that which belongs to others. They must certainly be incapable, therefore, of conveying any legal title to a nation. And if men of sound minds, without knowing its consequences, are persuaded, or by any means, induced, to confer monarchical power, they are deceived and defrauded: and fraud can confer no right nor legitimate title. Therefore every monarchy must be established by injustice: and the erection of it is, in every instance, a usurpation.

NOTE 57. Septimius Severus, emperor of Rome, had two sons, Carracalla and Geta. As Carracalla was, one day, marching behind his father, he drew his sword with a design to stab him: and he would undoubtedly have accomplished it, if it had not been prevented by one of the guards, who compelled him to return his sword into the scabbard. Severus perceived the attempt, but concealed his knowledge of it; and left the empire to the two brothers. Caracalla, as might naturally have been expected, paid so little respect to his father's regulations: and had so little regard for humanity or decency, that he killed his brother Geta in his

mother's arms; and afterwards married the mother. One thing remarkable in Severus, was, his total unconcern for the welfare of so many millions of people. If he had had the least regard or compassion, for his subjects, he would not have left his empire to such a monster as Caracalla. Yet Severus was called a great prince.

NOTE 58. Chosroes II. king of Persia, caused his father Hormisdas to be caned to death in prison. But after reigning some time it became his turn to have a disobedient son, and to be put in prison, where, instead of being caned to death, he was left to die with hunger.

NOTE 59. Selim I. grand seignior, or emperor of Turkey, destroyed his father by poison; and ordered his brother, and many of his relations, to be strangled. But Mahomet III. seems to have been more terrible to his relations, than any of his predecessors. He ordered no less than nineteen of his brothers to be strangled and ten of his father's wives, who were supposed to be pregnant, to be thrown into the sea.

NOTE 60. Tullia, the daughter of Servius Tullius king of Rome, conspired with Tarquin II. (called Tarquin the proud or Tarquinius Supurbus,) to destroy her father: and after he was killed, she drove over his dead body with her chariot; saying, "the nearest way "is too far to a throne."

NOTE 61. Aristobulus king of the jews. This king was; not only, guilty of starving his mother; but *of putting* all his brothers to death.

NOTE 62. Antipater king of Macidonia, and son of Cassander. The name of Antipater is derived from *Anti*, against, and *pater*, a father. But it seems that this prince ought to have been called Antimater; at least, he appears, by his crimes, to have rendered himself quite as worthy of that name, as he was of the name which he bore.

NOTE 63. Ninyas, son of Semiramis queen of Assyria. This prince pretended that his mother had solicited him to commit incest with her; but that was probably a mere pretext to take her life; and, if it were not, it could not justify matricide.

NOTE 64. Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt. He alleged that his mother had hired persons to assassinate him: but it was much easier for him to tell a falsehood, than for his mother to design such a crime. However when we consider that his mother was a queen this may perhaps be doubted: but what renders his story incredible, is, that she had assisted to establish him on the throne: and, after promoting him, it is not very probable that she would wish to destroy him.

NOTE 65. Herod king of the jews. The same who, soon after our Saviour's incarnation, ordered all the children, under two years of age, to be slain. He, also put to death all those who were most esteemed by the people: and even ordered all the chief persons in the kingdom to be slain, when he died, that their families might weep at his death.

NOTE 66. Ptolemy Euergetes II. king of Egypt, called Physcon, or the great bellied. He married Cleo-

petra, who was his sister and his brother's widow; and killed her son in her arms, on the very day of his marriage. He likewise distinguished himself by a variety of princely achievements besides this. He deserted his wife; and debauched Cleopatra who was her daughter and his own niece. He afterwards sent for his eldest son; and, when he innocently came in obedience to his command, he put him to death. He also very deliberately cut his youngest sons throat, to afflict his deserted wife, to whom he sent the childs mangled corpse, after he had thus barbarously murdered him. He could have said nothing in extenuation of those cruel and unnatural crimes. He did not even pretend that they had committed any offence. Indeed one of them was incapable of committing any, and the other had never been suspected. One he destroyed to prevent the most slight and remote possibility; and the basest malignity induced him to destroy the other.

NOTE 67. Constantine emperor of the west. He was surnamed the Great. After he had dastroyed his son, he put his wife Fausta to death.

NOTE 68. Peter I. Czar of Russia, was surnamed the Great. The motives which led Peter to condemn his son to die, is not clearly ascertained; but it was probably the same by which monarchs are usually actuated, the love of power and an unreasonable fear of losing it. It was certainly not a just motive: for there are sufficient reasons to believe, that no monarch ever punished his sons for any offence against the community; nor to prevent them from becoming tyrants after

his death. The love which monarchs have for mankind does not extend so far, as to induce them to put their sons to death, for the happiness of their subjects. Selfishness or some offence against themselves, is the cause which influences them, in the severity which they exercise on their offspring.

Herod, a monarch who was also called the Great, was not actuated by any just motive, or regard for the community, when he put his wife and three sons to death. A groundless jealousy and fear, was the cause of that suspicious tyrant's cruelty. If scoundrel was added to the word great, it would then, perhaps, form a very proper surname for such men as Herod. But if great mean, or be used to mean, any thing laudable or excellent, it is a shameful abuse of language, to call men of that description great.

Kings can so easily acquire names from their fulsome flatterers; that it is much safer to form our opinions from actions, than from names or general characters.

NOTE 69. Christian II. king of Denmark and Sweden, was called the cruel. He formed a plot to extirpate all the principal nobility of Sweden; and succeeded so well, in the execution of his design, that only one of them escaped: and that one was compelled to conceal himself to save his life: for a large sum of money was offered for his head.

The history of Peter the cruel king of Castile, furnishes another instance of the proper application of the surname which he bore. His cruelties were so enormous, that they compelled, even his tamest subjects to

rise with indignation against him ; and to drive him in dispair from the kingdom. But, notwithstanding his crimes, and the general indignation and consent, by which he was expelled, he was soon reinstated again by the assistance of a foreign despot. The cotemporary king of England, by reinstating so shameful a monster as Peter, has furnished a remarkable instance, of the cruel and execrable interference of monarchs, in the affairs of other nations : and a proof of their malace against mankind in general ; or, at least, of their total indifference to their sufferings. Here is a nation groaning under the most grievous and intolerable oppression, rising in the majesty of justice, against their cruel and tyrannical oppressor : yet the moment they have dethroned the villain, who, if he could have attained his power justly, had forfeited it by his horrible cruelties, they are attacked by a foreign prince, who compels them to receive again, the infuriated monster, whom they had previously nauseated and vomited out. This, together with numerous instances of the same nature, recorded in history, manifestly prove the malevolence and combination of princes, against the general happiness of mankind. This opinion or assertion, that such a combination has existed, is not, therefore, a mere chimera, or hyperbolical exaggeration. If we judge from their conduct, and that is the best criterion, monarchs are certainly the associated enemies of the human race : for if a nation depose a tyrant, they are immediately assailed by the united fury of foreign and contemporary princes, who resolve to reinstate the deposed monarch ;

even if he had become inefferable, by the perpetration of the most wanton barbarities. While all men of honesty and generosity feel the honourable emotions of indignation against an oppressor, and of compassion for the oppressed; monarchs are so far from feeling an abhorance of the one; or compassion for the other; they are so far from being actuated by the celestial sympathies of pity, for the extreme sufferings of an oppressed people; that they manifest the greatest rage and animosity against them, whenever they refuse to bear the utmost calamity, which the most brutal of tyrants can inflict.

If we believe them, it is perfectly right for monarchs to destroy each other to gratify their ambition; but, if a people who have patiently endured tyranny until it can no longer be born, should destroy an oppresser who is unworthy of life, it is, according to the cant of princes, a most dreadful offence. They can feel no commisseration for thousands of men, who are upright and honest; but for one detestable man, who was called a king; and who has been justly punished for his crimes, they can appear to be greatly affected. But, notwithstanding whatever monarchs, sycophants, and royalists, may say to the contrary; he who steps forward when the people are oppressed, to meliorate their condition, proves that he is a person of the greatest beneficence; he proves that he is a worthy, and a good man, because he subjects his life to the greatest danger, for the benefit of others.

If a monarch has been banished from his country, for treating his subjects with wanton cruelty, while they

were passive and obedient, what must be expected from his ferocity after his restoration, when his malignant soul is provoked and enraged, by the former opposition of his subjects? The most dismal, shocking, and melancholy scenes, must naturally be expected to follow. The people would be slaughtered without mercy; the best would be cruelly butchered by the worst; and actions, worthy of the bliss of paridise, would be charged as their greatest offence. What must princes be, when they can deliberately assist in subjecting a generous people to the fury of a malicious, implacable tyrant, who has been justly exiled for his crimes? what must they be, when they can reflect that the most beneficient men in a nation will be publicly and barbarously executed at his restoration; and yet assist in the accomplishment of that diabolical work? They may be compared, with the most propriety, perhaps, to a coalition of fiends: for they conspire against mankind, for the total abolition of general happiness. How deplorable, therefore, is the condition of the world, under monarchy. A nation must either tamely submit to all that folly or wickedness can impose; and must endure to see her best members successively mangled by the orders of a tyrant; or become liable to an internal and external war with confederated princes; and to the danger of being subjected, after an unsuccessful struggle, to the inexrable rage of these united and barbarous enemies of man.

That monarchs are confederated against the rest of mankind, and consider themselves as a distinct race

of beings, is evident also from their opinions and marriages. They hold it to be impolitic and derogatory, to intermarry with any but royal families. If they would select their companions from their subjects, they could choose from a much greater number; and could find persons far superior in mental and personal accomplishments. But this would not fortify them so effectually against the rest of the human race: and therefore, they generally confine themselves to a choice from the families of monarchs, whose power and resources may be called in, if necessary, to aid them in oppressing their subjects. To support this confederacy, is evidently their chief concern, in forming the matrimonial contract; for so little are they influenced by any other consideration, that it is not uncommon for them, to enter into that contract with persons whom they have never seen; or persons of the most disagreeable kind. Consequently, as love cannot be the inducement to such marriages, mutual assistance in oppression, must be the principal object.

NOTE 70. Lewis XIV. king of France, was surnamed *deo datus*, or given by God: and yet Lewis was one of the most wicked and execrable of tyrants. He arrogated divine honours; persecuted and butchered the protestants; and committed all sorts of attrocities.

NOTE 71. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, murdered his brothers; and was ironically called Philadelphus, in allusion to his crimes.

As almost every monarch is addressed by some hon-

dulable appellation, either from fear, flattery, or derision, it is only necessary to give one or two instances, to shew, that they are generally unworthy of the names, which their minions have bestowed upon them.

NOTE 72. Otho I. emperor of Germany, called the great.

NOTE 73. Henry II. king of England had four sons who conspired against him: but the monarch alluded to in the text, was Henry IV emperor of Germany, who was called the old and the great. His two sons combined against him, and reduced him to indigence and distress.

NOTE 74. That the acquisition of wealth and power, is no proof of superior faculties, must appear from one single consideration; and that is, that they may be, and frequently are, obtained by unjust means. Take a view of the history of any man; if you please of the most powerful, whom the world has ever produced; and, as you trace him in his progress to power, mark his first deviation: and then consider, that if he had been a better man, and had not stepped aside from the path of rectitude, to avoid the obstacles, which his abilities were insufficient to remove or surmount; that he must have stopped far below the power, which he reached by injustice. A wise or good man, could not accept of power on such conditions; and it only serves to render those who do accept of it, more conspicuously contemptible, than they otherwise would be.

Men, who really possess great abilities can, if they

desire it, acquire distinction and renown, without employing dishonourable means: and therefore, the very act of acquiring power by the infraction of another's right, is a proof of the imbecility of him who acquires it. But, as pride and folly are frequently united, men of monarchal spirits, or narrow, dwindling, contemptible minds, wishing to pass for men of distinguished talents, make use of fraud or violence, to obtain distinction or predominance, because they are unable to obtain it without; and are not satisfied in the place for which they were made.

Men who have acquired dominion by injustice, undoubtedly think that they are very great; although they are really quite as little, as they would be without it: for that pride or vanity, which renders them more notorious for their crimes than their talents, is a sufficient evidence of their littleness.

After such men have been struggling for power all their lives; and have spent the best part of their days in anxiety; how silly must they appear, when they fall, as they generally do, by the hands of those they have injured. Cæsar made this ridiculous appearance, when he received the reward of his numberless crimes.

If such men as Alexander, or Julius, or Augustus Cæsar, should come into the presence of men, like Cato, Epaminondas, Socrates, Phocian, or Cicero, the abilities of the former would disappear like the morning star in the rays of the sun; and they would be totally eclipsed; for their greatness was not in themselves, but in the trappings and plunder which they had seized.

Julius Cæsar had more judgment than Augustus; and yet his talents were far inferior to those of Cato or Cicero; as appears by their debates in the senate. It is true, the latter were not much distinguished in war, because they were not so brutal as to take a delight in it; nor so profligate, as to study it for the purposes for which the others employed it. But, notwithstanding this, as their judgments were superior, they would have appeared superior in every science, if they had studied it with equal attention. Indeed, the best head, and the best heart, are, and necessarliy must be united; for wickedness itself, as I have already shewn, is a proof of mental weakness; or at least of inferior rationality. To judge fairly of a man's endowments, all adventious circumstances, all extranious or surreptitious ornaments, must be stripped off; and he must be considered abstractly, by his reason alone. Although loquacity or information is no proof of pre-eminent intellect; yet, if a number of men were placed in a room together, and required to deliberate and discuss a variety of subjects, it would not be very difficult for an auditor of discernment to discover which possessed the greatest powers of mind.

If the Cæsars had not been actuated by the most restless ambition, and had not committed a thousand atrocities; their abilities would not have enabled them to surmount the obstacles, which they shunned or removed by the perpetration of crimes: and thus retarded or stopped in their progress, they never could have arrived at much power; and perhaps, had remained un-

distinguished from the crowd: for any man of common abilities, who possessed the same perseverance, and childish ambition, if he could have stooped to the same means, could have obtained the same end. It is certain, however, that the greatest success in the field, is not always a proof of the greatest talents. The ablest general must depend for success, on the instruments and accidents, which fall to his lot; and may, therefore be overcome by a man of less capacity, who is better served, or more fortunate.

As for Alexander, he was much more suitable for a common soldier, than for a general. We find but little display of generalship or stratagem in his conduct; what he gained, was gained by hard blows; and all the knowledge of tactics, which he possessed, his father had learned from the great Epaminondas. Besides, his conquests were over a barbarous people, whose armies, before his time, had often been overcome by the Grecians. But, it may be asked, perhaps, how did he make such extensive conquests, if he was not a skilful general? To this, it may be answered, that he had the funds and soldiers; and was prompted by ambition, and favoured by chance; or by fortuitous and concurrent events, and circumstances. That he was not a man of a great mind, his cruelty, his superstition, and his conversation, all equally demonstrate. And that he was favoured by accident, is no less certain, for he, several times escaped the danger, into which his temerity and imprudence had carried him, by accident alone. His robberies have made a noise in the world; but his character must ap-

pear despicable, when compared with the philosophers of that age; and must continue to be despised by honest men, as long as the remembrance of it shall last.

But, to come nearer to our own times for a comparison, how would the most powerful of the kings of England, have appeared, if they had been stripped of their appendages, and exhibited in a legislative Assembly, with such worthies as John Hampden, Sir Henry Vane, and their companions in misfortune; they would probably have appeared as they were, vastly inferior to those patriots in every personal and intellectual endowment.

NOTE 75. The superstition of the greater number of monarchs, is a sufficient testimony of their imbicility. Many of them have been foolishly led by priests, astrologers, magicians, or fortunetellers: frightened by dreams, or fanciful apparitions; or ridiculously terrified by imaginary signs, omens, or prodigies.

The first remarkable sample of superstition which I shall mention here, was afforded by Zeno, emperor of Constantinople. After the death of Acacius patriarch of that metropolis; Zeno ordered a blank piece of paper to be laid under the alter; and then prayed that God would permit an angel to write on it, the name of the person who should succeed Acacius. A certain priest called Flavitas, being informed of it, by an eunuch, whom Zeno entrusted with the care of the church, wrote his own name on the paper; and by that deception was advanced to the patriarchship. The stupid emperor was credulous enough to believe, that the name of Fla-

vials was legibly written on the paper by some angel, by the express command of God.

Although the conduct of Zeno, in the case above mentioned, was extremely laughable, it was not criminal. But some monarchs have been such mere blockheads, that they have been led by the belief of dreams, predictions, or oracles, to perpetrate shameful and atrocious crimes; and even to murder their nearest relations or friends. Of this, many examples might be found, I shall, however, only trouble the reader with a few: and these will be mentioned without any regard to chronological order.

Antigonus, successor to part of the territories subdued by Alexander king of Macidon, had in his court a young prince by the name of Mithridates, who had been placed there for his education. And while Mithridates was there, Antigonus dreamed that he was in a spacious field where he had sown golden seed: that a wonderful crop of that brilliant metal sprang up, and grew, until it came to maturity; and that returning soon after, to reap the golden harvest, he discovered that it was all cut down; and nothing but chaff and stubble left. He thought in his dream, that he was extremely troubled at this disappointment and that he overheared some persons saying, that it was Mithridates who had reaped the golden crop; and had returned with it into the kingdom of Pontus. Merely in consequence of this ridiculous dream, Antigonus resolved to destroy the life of Mithridates; and certainly would have accomplished it, if the young man had

cle; yet the cruel and fanatical father, though he was credulous enough to beleive an oracle, which was inficitely more improbable, would not credit this plausible declaration; but, with the enthusiastic rage of a bigot, slew his daughter with his own hand; and killed himself on her tomb. Such naked and manifest folly requires no comment.

The last case of princely stupidity, which I shall mention in this note, is that of the emperor Vitellius. He was told by an old woman, that, if he survived his mother, he should reign many years in happiness. And this silly emperor, who was probably much more foolish, than the foolish old hag who deceived him, starved his mother to death; that he might enjoy what the old woman had promised him. Hence it must appear, that in monarchies a set of wicked, or crack brained astrologers, magicians and fortunetellers, through their influence on monarchs, may often have the power to direct the affairs of nations; and to destroy men with impunity.

It would be useless to swell this note, with a greater number of cases of this kind, if the curious reader, wishes to see other instances of royal turpitude or bigotry, they are numerous; and may easily be found by examining the lives or history of monarchs.

NOTE 76. Nero was so foolishly childish, that he ordered a lion to be made of pasteboard, and placed in the theatre: which being done he appeared on the stage against it; with prodigious courage attacked his paper lion; and knocked it down with a large club.

NOTE 77. Caligula expended great sums of money, in erecting a temporary bridge; and in adorning it with houses, and triumphal arches; merely for the simple purpose of strutting over it and back again, with his attendants, like a procession of school boys. When this ridiculous performance was ended, he ordered the bridge, on which he had just before expended such vast sums of money, to be destroyed. To give a still more remarkable proof of his folly and extravagance, he had jewels dissolved in his sauces; and spent thousands at a meal. Succeeding emperors were no less prodigal. Some of them, when they were at the sea shore, would eat nothing but what was brought from the most distant mountains; and when they were furthest from the sea, would eat nothing, but what was brought from the sea shore.

NOTE 78. After the feudal system of government had spread over Europe, the most numerous and useful class of inhabitants, were reduced to so wretched a state of slavery, that their masters had the power of putting them to torture or death, whenever they pleased. They were frequently punished with the greatest cruelty, by their savage lords; and until the twelfth century, no fine, or penalty of any kind, was imposed on the nobility, for destroying the life of a peasant. After that period, they became, in some parts of Europe, subject to a small fine for murdering their vassals: but they still continued to hold them in bondage, claiming them as their property; and transferring them like cattle, or the soil on which they toiled. In other parts of Europe,

the peasantry continue, to this day, to be subject to the arbitrary will of the privileged orders. Where men exercise an absolute power over the lives of their fellow beings, it would be absurd to enquire, what labour they may not exact; what hardships they may not impose; or what torments they may not inflict; for he who has the absolute disposal of life, may undoubtedly extort all, or any part, of whatever is useful for its support; or inflict all, or any part, of that severity, by which it is destroyed. Without attempting, therefore, to particularize the manifold evils, which have been experienced, under every species of government, vested in a king and nobility; it will be sufficient in this place, to observe, that for many ages successively, the most numerous, laborious, and useful class of the people of Europe, have been, not only incapable of acquiring property, but have been subject to all the varieties of injury, which wantonness, weakness, or wickedness, could commit; or unfeeling covetousness impose.

NOTE 79. A clear proof of the truth of part of this assertion, was exhibited in England, soon after the restoration of the stewarts, and the truth of the other part is too obvious to require illucidation. Those persons who had sat in the high court of justice, on the trial of Charles I. or had, in any way, distinguished themselves in the service of their country, were required by proclamation, to deliver themselves up, before a certain day, on a promise of indemnity or pardon. Many of those gentlemen either surrendered, in conformity to this promise; or were seized by the officers of the court.

But, notwithstanding, the indemnity which had been promised in so public and solemn a manner, they who had evinced the most incorruptible virtue and integrity, were barbarously put to death; while others who had acted without any principle or honest motive to justify them, were pardoned by the king. They had all participated in the same act; and there could have been no reason for the discrimination which was made, except it were the difference in their motives or dispositions. The royal faction themselves, admitted, that those whom they executed, were men of fixed principles, who had been uniformly actuated by good intentions. And indeed, the whole tenour of their lives had shewn, that they were men of the most unexceptionable characters. Their conduct was entirely irreproachable; and with respect to abilities, they were far superior to any of their savage persecutors; and some of them, not inferior, perhaps, to any that England ever produced.

Henry Vane was one of those who were tried, condemned, and executed: and what was his offence? His character was in every respect, amiable and excellent. Conscious of no crime, he had never concealed himself; and had done no more than many others beside: nay, three fourths of the people of England, were engaged in the same cause. Then why except him from the act of indemnity, which was extended to others? I aver, and I appeal to every honest mind for the truth of it, that it was because they hated his virtue, and envied his talents. There could have been no other motive for his

execution; because he was naturally a peaceable man, and had sustained a much better character, than many who had acted the same part in the civil war, and were excused. So sensible were the royal faction, of the venerable powers of his mind, and of their own rascality, that when he attempted to speak at the time of his execution, they ordered the trumpets to sound; lest he should expose them, by deducing with irresistable, perspicuity and eloquence, the plain demonstations of their diabolical conduct.

Mr. John Carew, Mr. Thomas Scot, Mr. Gregory Clement, Chief Justice Coke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Col. Henry Martin, Col. Okey, Col. John Barkstead, Col. Francis Hacker, and some others, were executed a short time before Henry Vane. Being all honest and intelligent, they were zealous defenders of the liberty of their country; and some of them had spent their estates in its service.

Hugh Peters gave a strong proof of his charity and good will to men, by the service which he rendered to the persecuted protestants of Ireland. Being informed of their distresses, he went over to Holland, and sent about thirty thousand pounds for their relief. This action alone, merited the honour of some share of a monarch's enmity. The manner, in which these worthy men were treated by the royal party, before their execution, as well as by the execution itself, clearly shews, that a malicious hatred of virtue exists in the breast of monarchs. At the time of their trial, they were insolently interrupted when they attempted to make their

defence; and treated with a barbarity, which could hardly have been expected from the rudest savages.

When the venerable Chief Justice Coke, was taken to the place of execution, the head of Major Gen. Harrison, who had been executed a short time before, was fixed on the sled, in which he was carried, with the face directed towards him. But he was not in the least intimidated; and at the place of execution, among other things, he declared, "That he had used the utmost of "his endeavours, that the practice of the law might be "regulated; and that the public justice might be ad-"ministered with as much expedition, and as little ex-"pence as possible; and that he had suffered a more "than ordinary persecution from his profession, on that "account: and that he was so far from repenting what "he had done, that he was most ready to seal it with "his blood." If royal malignity was manifested, by the selection of the worthiest men for destruction, it was no less obvious from subsequent discriminations, with respect to the manner in which they were executed. Indeed, in every stage of the persecution, from its commencement to its conclusion, or from the arrest to the last gasp, the most virtuous were treated with the most cruelty. Strong proofs of this malicious and discriminative severity, appeared at the place of execution. Such as had shewn the most patriotic and philanthropic constancy in their country's cause, were hung up by neck for some time, and then cut down alive; after which, their entrails were cut out, and thrown into the fire before they died. While Chief Justice Coke was

butchered in this savage manner, Mr. Peters, who was to be executed on the same day, was ordered to be called, that he might see what was doing. When he was brought, the executioner came up to him, and rubbing his bloody hands, together, asked him how he liked that work. He answered, that he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst.

Thus were these excellent and unfortunate men, who had toiled or fought for their country, publicly insulted, in their last moments; savagely deprived of the liberty of vindication; and cruelly butchered by the hands of an executioner; and at last, to complete the scene of barbarism, they were ignominiously and scandalously quartered, and suspended in public places.

In those unhappy times, the juridicial and ministerial officers of the crown, were entirely similar in their manners and brutality; and the prisoners were equally insulted, by the judge and the executioner The infamous Sir Orlando Bridgman, who charged the juries in the above cases, had the impudence to tell them: "That "no authority; no single person; or community of "men; not the people collectively or representatively; "had any coercive power over the king of England." The villanous reptile, who could insult the understanding of a dying man with such a scandalous declaration, deserved, if any one could deserve, the punishment which he was instrumental in bringing on others.

I have already mentioned, generally, the ill treatment which those patriots received at their trials. I have not stated the particulars of that treatment; because I

thought they were unnecessary; and might swell this note to too large a size.

But there is one circumstance, however, in some of these trials, which contributes, so much, to prove the malice of the royalists, that it ought not to be omitted. In the case of some of those who were tried before the infamous Bridgman, for their opposition to monarchy, an executioner in an ugly dress, and an halter in his hand, was procured and permitted to stand by the prisoner, during the whole time of his trial. If real barbarians were not frequently found in civilized countries, the truth of this circumstance might, perhaps, be doubted; for none but a barbarian would have tolerated such a public and inhuman indecency.

The royal faction were under no necessity, of destroying their former opponents to secure their power: for that was already secured. Henry Vane and the patriots whom I have mentioned, were as much opposed to the usurpation of Cromwell, as they were to that of Stewart. Yet Cromwell had not thought it necessary to put them to death: although they had not only refused, to sign any engagement not to act against him; but had even told him, that whenever their was a probability of success, that they should oppose him. But they never made any attempt: and Charles II. was quite as firmly established in power, at the time of these bloody proceedings, as Cromwell had been before. So that Charles could not have been apprehensive of danger from these unfortunate men. And the chief inducement to destroy them, must have been the

the envy of their tallents; and the hatred of their honest and inflexible principles. That it was not the fear of danger from the patriots, which influenced the monarchists, is evident from the pursuit of those, who had migrated beyond the utmost reach of suspicion. For Charles and his minions were constantly endeavouring to arrest or assasinate those, who had fled for refuge to foreign countries; and had determined never to return to their native land. Some of those who were executed, had fled to Hanau, in Germany; had been hospitably received, and made Burgesses of the town. They had sent for their relations; and had abandoned all intention of returning to England, to molest their enemies. As they were known to be good men in principle, and in nature; even if they had committed an honest error, Charles II. would not have pursued them with such implicable annimosity, if he and his smell feasts, had not been actuated, by an antipathy to goodness and virtue. But what most indubitably and incontestably demonstrates, that monarchs and their partizans are enemies to virtue, is, that in so many instances, and so many reigns, men of bad principles were spared, while men of the most venerable and unexceptionable characters, were put to death; and not merely put to death; but tortured with circumstances of the greatest cruelty. In many cases, besides those which I have mentioned, their enormities were not even extenuated, by the suspicion of danger: for if they were actuated, merely by the fear of the patriots whom they destroyed, there would be no motive for torture.

If the subject of the text, be more abstractly considered, these arguments in support of it, may receive some additional illustration. For, morally, their can be but two principles in the world: one good, and the other bad; or one virtuous, and the other vicious. That has a tendency to make mankind happy; and this to make them miserable. Every man is influenced, by one of these principles: if he is actuated by the good or virtuous principle, he is a friend of equal justice; and consequently of democracy: and if he is influenced by the bad or vicious principle, he is a friend of injustice, and, necessarily, of monarchy. There may be, and certainly are, different degrees of virtue and vice: but, exclusively of the prejudiced and biggoted, he who is the most firmly attached to democracy, is the best of men; and he who is the most attached to monarchy, is the worst. The same kind of men, have been the supporters of monarchy in all countries. They are constantly struggling for the same end. And whenever they are unrestrained, they will produce the same effect: for they are led by the same principles; and influenced by the same cause.

Whenever they are opposed by the virtuous principle, they unite against it: and, when that obstacle is removed, they begin to destroy each other. A remarkable instance of this was exhibited at Rome, in the time of Octavus and Antonius the Triumvers. Though they united against Brutus and Cassias, and their compatient friends, yet, as soon as they were removed, they turned their arms against each other;

and one could not rest, till the other was destroyed. This species of men are like a peevish ill natured child, who, with both hands full, is constantly dissatisfied, as long as he sees a toy in anothers hand.

NOTE 80. The conduct of every man who speaks or acts in favour of royalty, is certainly inimical to the general happiness of mankind. But, it is not my intention, to assert that all men who are friendly to kings or monarchy, are bad or vicious men. But this much, however, may be truly said, that all men, who have divested themselves of prejudice; and have discovered the evils of monarchical governments; must be, either enemies to kings, or friends to vice.

I know that men are sometimes prepossessed with opinions, which, with better information, or more reflection they would despise. It is very obvious, that they do not always examine the opinions which they entertain. And where they do: they are not always able without the assistance of fair discussion, to draw correct conclusions. I cannot be ignorant, therefore, that good men may imbibe, and too often do imbibe, prejudices, favourable to monarchy. Indeed, under that species of government, it is almost impossible to come into the world, without meeting with those baneful prejudices. For the infant, from the hour of its birth to the age of discretion, is surrounded with them; and inveloped in monarchal darkness. No man is allowed to question the fictitious infallibility of kings; to doubt the veracity of their flatterers; or the chimerical perfection of monarchy. The habitual veneration of old prepossessions,

confirmed and nourished by the dread of power, is too strong for the energies of ordinary minds. And hence it is not every man who is able, without assistance, to break the gloom of prejudice, and let in the light.

If a man be unable to give the reasons of his opinion or believe it to be true, merely because he was told so; he has certainly retained opinions, which he has never examined: and he is, as certainly, more, or less, culpable for doing so. It is the duty of every man, to endeavour to ascertain the truth; and to make it the rule of his conduct. However, as men who are not vicious, are often negligent and thoughtless; I should be rather uncharitable, if I imputed to every one who supports monarchy, an intention of producing its concomitant miseries. If a man be ignorant of the evils which spring from it, his actions can be no proof, of the design of producing them. But, nevertheless, the prejudiced may be justly charged with negligence; or with the offence of retaining erroneous prepossessions: and their criminalness is in proportion to their means and opportunities, of discovering the truth: for they are undoubtedly censurable, for the evils which their neglect or indolence, occasions to mankind.

The observations, contained in this note, are intended both, as an explanation of that part of the text to which they particularly allude; and also, as a qualification of any general proposition, which may appear inconsistent with them.

NOTE 81. The intelligent will easily perceive, and I wish it to be explicitly understood, that I do not

mean to support or advocate anarchy. But I do,most truly and strenuously contend, that monarchy is a much greater evil, than the want, or total absence, of government. The latter, which is properly called anarchy, can never subsist long at a time. But while it does subsist, it is much less pernicious than the former. If we consider number; monarchy has destroyed a much greater number, in a given time, than ever was destroyed, in the same period, by anarchy. And if we consider the mode or manner of destruction; its modes of destruction are infinitely more cruel and barbarous.

In the reign of Ochus king of Persia, 40,000 Sidonians, thought it better to burn themselves, with their wives and children, than to submit to the tyranny of that monarch. As they were reduced to the alternative of burning themselves; or of suffering death, or that which is worse than death, by the cruelty of Ochus, monarchy is justly chargeable with their destruction.

In another instance, no less remarkable, 150,000, persons, peaceably employed at their occupations, were in one day, deliberately massacred. This was done by the orders of Mithridates king of Pontus; whose chief object, in committing that offence, was to involve his country in war, by shewing his contempt of the Romans. Those whom he destroyed were Romans, who had, in time of peace, settled in the countries which he governed. But as they had voluntarily fixed their residence there, they were more properly, his subjects, than those who were placed there by the chance of birth. These are instances of general devastation,

not occasioned by war: and these, alone, manifest the truth of my numeral proposition. But, although the numbers which were destroyed at those particular times, were very great, they would appear small in comparison to the whole number of those who have unjustly suffered, in some particular reigns; and still smaller, if compared to the number of those whose destruction has been occasioned by war: and even those must be included in the comparison: for war, (as I shall hereafter shew,) and, consequently, its effects, are very justly imputable to monarchy.

If it may easily be shown, that monarchy destroys a much greater number of people than anarchy; it may with equal facility, be demonstrated, that the manner in which it destroys them, is infinitely more inhuman. But monarchs have so long and so frequently, employed torture, that it is unnessary to state any particlar case. Most men must know, that it has been customarily inflicted, under monarchical governments; and, that monarchs have viewed it with so much unconcern, that they have used it, not merely as a punishment, but as a mode of trial, and a means of discovery.

If it is customary in monarchy to detroy mankind by the severest torments, we know by the very nature of anarchy or the absence of government, that there is no such custom there. There, the same causes cannot exist: if they could, anarchy could not continue; because if mankind were not restrained by tyrants, they would never tolerate the monstrous abuses, which take place under the restraints of monarchy; but would im-

mediately unite, by common consent, for their removeal.

Anarchy is so often used as a scarecrow to frighten mankind from the support of liberty; or deter them from opposing tyranny; or measures which lead to it: that it deserves a more particular investigation on that account. Because it is very necessary to remove the false notions, which have too often prevailed, respecting it: lest mankind, from the excessive fear of Sylla, run into Charibdis; or, to shun a smaller evil, run into a greater.

Anarchy, as I before observed, is properly, the want or absence of government. But it is often used in a metaphorical, or more extensive sense, to include and signify strife and confusion. The latter kind proceeds from monarchy, and will be more fully explained hereafter: and the danger of the former, is no argument in favour of royalty; for the worst that can be said of that, or any other species of anarchy is, that until a legitimate government be established, the people are in danger of a monarchical one: for that is the greatest evil which can possibly result from the want of government. Whoever supports an arbitrary measure from the dread of anarchy, incurs a certain risk to avoid one which is merely possible. If it could not, by any possibility, produce monarchy, anarchy would be a much smaller evil than it is; or, at least, much less dreadful. The people could prevent all its other inconveniencies, at any time, by the formation of a democratical government. And it seems strangely absurd, to urge as a

principal argument for monarchy, the danger of that, which is only evil because it tends to produce it; I say, only evil because it tends to produce it; for that, which can only last for a moment, cannot be a very great evil. And, excepting that contentious kind, which is attributable to monarchy; anarchy is a mere phantom, conjured up, to terrify the ignorant into a submission to arbitrary power. It cannot continue long; and while it does continue, may be perfectly harmless: for what is anarchy? It is a state without government. Has such a state ever existed? how long did it exist? and what were the consequences of it? History can answer these questions more satisfactorily, perhaps, than I can. But I will venture to affirm, that wherever anarchy has existed, its duration was short; and its evils unless it produced kings, comparatively small. But let me be fairly understood: I speak not, at present, of that turbulent, violent kind of anarchy, which is occasioned by the struggles of men, who have derived an imaginary title to power and pre-eminence, from some arbirary or monarchical establishment; nor of that which is produced by the emissaries of foreign princes: but of a nation, destitute of a government, and uninfluenced by the corruptions of royalty. Whatwould be the first wish, and the first act of a people in that condition? their first wish would be for a government; and their first act would produce one; and produce it too with no less, but probably more tranquility, than accompanied the formation of the American constitutions. For when these constitutions were formed, we were not entirely free

from old prejudices, and the influence of corrupt governments.

No one can reasonably suppose, that the dissolution or abrogation of government, can suddenly transform a humane people into savages; and make them forget all their maxims of religion and morality. If it could not suddenly change the hearts and dispositions of mankind, violence or injustice would not be a necessary consequence of anarchy; except it were of that worst kind of anarchy, which originates from royalty; and the different pretentions of princes. Hence, if a man, immediately after the abolition of political institutions, committed an offence against nature, such as murder or the like, it would be as repugnant to the feelings of humanity then, as it would have been before. And mankind, conscious of their own weakness, would, from the same impulse, combine to punish the offender. For, with or without government, there may be acts which are criminal by the laws of nature, which nature alone would impel us to punish. Cain seemed sensible of this: for though there was no government to punish him, he was afraid that the first one who met him would slay him.

It is evident, that a people without laws or restrictions, would naturally feel their own insecurity; and would, by general consent, for their mutual safety, immediately form a constitution. If they had no government, there could be no restraint to prevent them from forming one: and if they were convinced that it was expedient, as they certainly would be, they would have both the will and

the power; and the act would be a necessary consequence. The evils of this kind of anarchy, therefore, if any were felt, would no sooner be felt than removed. But this is not the case in monarchy. There the people may feel evils of the worst kind; and drudge from year to year, in the greatest misery; but where can they find a remedy? Alas, the remedy cannot be easily found; and must generally be sought through slaughter and devastation.

If our happiness ever depends on the hope of improving our condition in life, we could seldom have that hope under regal government. Therefore, they who live in subjection to it, must live in despair; or more properly die in despair; for they are dying the greater part of their lives: and yet, after dying so long, their existence may be finally terminated by torture.

Although many facts might be stated in corroberation of what I have here advanced, I should be apprehensive that I should become tedious, if I detained the reader any longer on this occasion. However, if he still entertain a doubt on the truth of the text; let him examine the history of events, from the earliest date, to the present day; and he will be perfectly convinced of its truth.

NOTE 82. History furnishes us with innumerable cases, in which the bodies of men have been hung up in some conspicuous place, to gratify the malignity of monarchs. The limits of this work will not permit me to mention more than two or three.

Before the treacherous introduction of Charles II. into England, many of those who had united against his father, were dead. But Charles and his gang could not rest, until they had vented their despicable rage on the remains of some of the deceased. And, consequently, the bodies of President Bradshaw, Major General Ireton, and General Cromwell, were dug out of their graves, and suspended on a gallows. But if royal malice were always as ineffectual as it was in these cases, happy indeed would it be for the world.

Had Cromwell been hung before his death, good men would not have regretted it. But President Bradshaw, was a man of abilities and exemplary virtue; and one, who would not wilfully do an injury to any man.

In the cases here mentioned, the persons whose remains were exposed to gratify royal malice, had died a natural death some years before. But in thousands of instances, the carcases of men who have been tortured, have been hung up to putrify in public view. It is notorious, indeed, that the exhibition of such spectacles, has been generally customary in monarchies.

NOTE 83. If any man supposes, because torture, has been recently abolished by some European Princes, that there is no reason to apprehend the renewal of it, he is under a great mistake. In regal governments it may be abolished to day, and renewed to-morrow, according to the will or caprice of the monarch. In a fit of good humour, he may disuse it: but, the moment he is irritated, he will use it again. This he can do at any time; for there would be nothing to prevent him. And no

man, who reflects on the nature of monarchy, can rationally expect, that torture will be discontinued for any great length of time, until arbitrary government shall be abolished. Sovereign power, in the hands of one, or of a few has produced it, in every kingdom in the world. And if human nature is the same, and men be invested with the same power, they will produce it again: for the same cause will invariably bring the same effect. In monarchy, weak minds are liable to certain incentives, which stimulate them to inflict severe punishments: and, moreover, cruelty is naturally inherent, in those who wish to be kings: and therefore, torture is the natural consequence of royalty. It may sometimes be intermitted for particular reasons; but as long as monarchs exist, they will frequently resort to that infernal engine, either to gratify their royal eyes with a sight of it, or to intimidate mankind, and make them passively obsequious to tyranny. Indeed, monarchs are not merely barbarous themselves; but they have a tendency to make their subjects so; as might be shewn by many examples. And they tend so strongly to produce this effect, that in some instances, the abject slave has outdone his savage master.

As Richard I. king of England, was endeavouring to take possession of some treasure which a peasant had found in the ground; and, for that purpose, was besieging the castle in which it was placed; he was shot, by one Bertram de Jourdon, in the shoulder. When he found that he had received a mortal wound, he sent for Jourdon, and asked him what injury he had done *him* to

induce him to take away his life. Jourdon fearlessly and intrepidly answered: "you killed with your own "hand, my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged me. I am now in your power, "and my torments may give you revenge; but I will "endure them with pleasure, since it is my consolation "that I have rid the world of a tyrant." Richard being reminded of his own guilt in that awful moment of repentence, commanded his officers to liberate Jourdon; and to give him one hundred shillings. But, Marcade one of his generals, being in better health, and consequently less penitent than his master, was too savage to let the brave man escape without punishment: and therefore ordered him to be flayed alive, and afterwards hanged.

In the time of the emperor Caligula, an instance of the ferocity of courtiers, still more remarkable, occurred. Protogenes a favourite of Caligula went, one day, to the senate: where, being seated, the senators came fawning round him as usual; and, among the rest, a man by the name of Proculus. While Proculus was making his compliments, Protogenes, addressing him, said: "how is it possible for you to have so much regard for "me, when you have so little for the emperor?" or words to that effect. And, upon this slight intimation of displeasure from the lips of a sycophant, the senators, like a herd of wild beasts, instantly seized Proculus; and tore him to pieces.

This cruelty to Proculus, was displayed, merely to gain the emperor's favour; or to remove any suspicions,

of disaffection from themselves. I ought not, perhaps, to omit some circumstances which preceded this event. Caligula, for some childish or frivolous exploit expected a triumph. The senate, afraid to offer one lest he should appear ridiculous even to his own eyes, prepared to do him some less extravagant honour. And, when the necessary arrangements were made, they deputed some of their members to wait on him; and invite him to attend at the celebration of his exploits. When the deputies invited him to come and receive the honour designed for him by the senate, thinking it was too small, he charged them at their peril, not to meddle with his honours: and, laying his hand on his sword, said, he would come, but he would bring that with him. Intimating thereby, that he would punish the senators with death, for omitting to prepare for a causeless and ridiculous procession. This threat increased their fear; and, by the act of barbarity which I have mentioned, they hoped to gain his favour; or, at least, to lessen his displeasure. And in either case, it shews the tendency of monarchy.

The last instance of barbarism, which I shall notice in this place, happened in the time of Lewis XV. king of France.

Francis Damien, who was evidently a Lunatic, being offended by some disputes between the king and parliament on the subject of religion, attempted to kill the king with a penknife. And, for this offence, all the torments which ingenuity could invent; or cruelty inflict was imposed on the miserable Damien. After the pa-

tience of his judges was exhausted, in attempting by various tortures to extort a confession of guilt; he was taken to the place of execution, amidst a vast multitude of people. His clothes were stripped off; and he was fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was burned with hot flaming sulphur. His arms, legs, and thighs, were successively torn with red hot pincers. Boiling oil, melted rosin, sulphur, and lead, were poured into the wounds. And to finish this dreadful execution, strong ligatures were fastened round his limbs; and he was torn in pieces by horses.

Where hundreds of persons are mangled at a time in a similar manner what a doleful dismal scene must be exhibited to the the spectator. Such monarchal frightful and infernal scenes of barbarism, must naturally tend to harden and brutalize mankind. And such examples, together with the deceptions, frauds, wars, corruptions, and hardships, which attend royalty, certainly have that effect: a proof of which is, that torture is in some instancee inflicted in monarchy, by the subject, without the concurrence of the monarch; but is never inflicted, in civilized society, beyond the influence of arbitrary government.

When a subject incurs the suspicion or displeasure of a king, the courtiers of the day, either to recommend themselves, or gratify their malice, endeavour to out do each other, by the violence of their clamour against him. In this manner, one excites another: and what the worst of men propose, either from fear, hope, or malignity, they who have better dispositions, are afraid

to oppose: while the ignorant and slavish multitude accustomed to the sight and commendation of torture, and hearing so many tongues, loudly imprecating the accused; and none, daring to speak in his favour, are easily carried away, in the torrent of stupid declamation, to give their assent to deeds, which wise men contemplate, with the utmost abhorrence.

I think all men, on a nearer approach, would be convinced, that this torent of cruelty which spreads through the world, has its source in arbitrary power. I think, also, that it must appear from previous remarks, that the greater part of it generally flows from monarchs themselves; though often increased by a confluence of smaller streams from their courtiers.

However, I will now advance a step nearer; and endeavour to shew, how it originates among the latter. I will suppose that a king was displeased at one of his subjects, or resolved to punish him: and that some of those paracites who collect about monarchs, watching for opportunities to manifest a disposition to serve them, were informed of it. One of them, to evince his zeal for the royal cause, or some other vicious motive, after many preliminary reproaches against the unfortunate man, propossed that the offender, for the displeasure which he had given his gracious majesty, should be sentenced to pay an exemplary fine. Another, actuated by similar motives, but being anticipated by the first, or unable to shew his zeal by proposing what was already proposed, went a step further; and declared that in his opinion the offender, for not conducting

himself more agreeably to his majesty's wishes, ought to forfeit his whole estate; and that he hoped his majesty would confiscate it: adding, that nothing was more disagreeable to him, than to be an accuser; but where his majesty's interest was concerned, he could not avoid saying, that, from several little occurences, he believed the person alluded to, was not a loyal subject. A third, equally fervent, but anticipated by the second, or prevented from shewing his fervency, by making the first proposal of confiscation, advanced still further; and declared, that, for an offence of that nature, the offender ought not only to lose his estate; but be banished from his majesty's kingdom. A fourth, equally loyal, but anticipated, in like manner, by the third, or precluded by the previous suggestion of banishment, from displaying his loyalty by that suggestion, ventured a step further; and asserted, that every subject who wilfully, or even negligently offended his sovereign, merited imprisonment, at least, for a term of years: concluding, by saying, that as some suspicions of the delinquent had been entertained, he thought his majesty ought certainly to secure himself, by the imprisonment of the offender. A fifth, no less ardent than they who had previously spoken, but thinking like them, that he could not evince his ardent affection for his master, without proposing a punishment more severe, than any which had been already proposed, maintained with much counterfeit warmth, that the vile detracter, as he termed the accused, ought to be put to death. To justify this opinion, he alleged, that whoever gave his majesty a just cause

of suspicion, ought to be deprived of the power of do mischief. For it would be very unreasonable that his majesty should be kept in constant apprehension, merely to save the life of a subject. His peace of mind was of so much importance to himself and the nation, that it ought not to be disturbed with impunity, by the suspicious conduct of any of his subjects. If his majesty should require absolute proof in every case, he might be kept in continual alarm; and, both he and the nation, endangered by conspiracies, which might not be discovered until it might be too late: because it was well known that plots against the government were usually formed and directed, with the greatest caution and secrecy. He hoped, therefore, that his most gracious majesty, when he considered how much they were all interested in his welfare, would not suffer his great mercy to draw him into a dangerous lenity towards any one, and especially not towards the delinquent. For it was notorious, that he had been a censorious, disobedient, refractory subject; and that, instead of submitting like all good subjects, to the wisdom and justice of his sovereign, he had been almost perpetually detracting and vilifying those steps, which his majesty had thought proper to persue. And surely such conduct was highly criminal, because it had an evident tendency to promte discontent and sedition; and, thereby, to endanger his majesty, and the peace and welfare of his kingdom. In the case in question, although, he had not heard any positive proof, of any spesific charge, yet the offender had so often, and so publicly misdemeaned himself, that he

thought the presumption against him, was sufficiently strong, to warrant him in wishing that he might be put to death: concluding, that his suspicion of him had originated from such a variety of minute circumstances, that he could hardly tell how it arose; but he had always hated the man, because he thought he was not true to his majesty: and now from recent occurrences, he was convinced that his suspicions were too well founded. A sixth, with much species indignation and ferver, declared, that death was too good for the villain; and that he ought to be incarcerated in the dungeon during life. For that he had long been disaffected to his majesty; and had, he believed, been in the habit of speaking disrespectfully of him, before his majesties subjects: adding a number of little particulars, which (as he said) came within his own knowledge, to shew the delinquents ingratitude and disaffection to his sovereign: and, finally, observing that he had no doubt, although it could not, perhaps, be proved, that he was at this moment, forming a traitorous conspiricy against him. A seventh, was astonished at the blamable lenity of those, who had expressed their sentiments on the subject; and with many oaths and impricatious, very emphatically declared, that the damned, infernal villain, as he termed him, deserved to be tortured in the severest manner: nay, torture itself, if there were any greater punishment, was too good for him, for, to his certain knowledge, he had spoken irreverently of his majesty; for he himself had overheard him a few days before.

He went on to state, that, although his august majes-

ty was justly celebrated above all other princes for the noble qualities of his head and heart; yet, he said, he had been told, that very day, by Lord Tatler, that the damned traitor had stigmatized his majesty with a want of understanding and humanity and for the purpose, as the noble lord believed, of ascertaining whether he could be brought into the plot, which the noble lord was informed, by some person in the secret, had been laid by the offender and some others, for the subversion of government. Indeed, the insolent traitor told the noble lord, that he thought there would be a revolution in government, unless his majesty conducted himself with more prudence. After animadverting with great heat and energy, on the heniousness of such expressions, he finished his discourse, by saying, that he had no idea of the propriety of letting such a monstrous offender escape that exemplary punishment, which was necessary to deter others from committing similar offences. And that he hoped his majesty, after the necessary means were used to extort a discovery of his accomplices, would condemn him to such tormonts, as his crimes deserved. Here, a number of others, finding it impossible to suggest a greatar degree of severity, began to exaggerate the offence, and to magnify it by additional slanders.

Sometimes, they were all tattling together; and, agreeably to their narratives, they had all seen or heard something, which corroberated or confirmed the accusation. While some were stating many things against the accused, which they had never thought of before; others were busy in contriving different methods of torture, or in recommending that which they deemed most efficacious. But, during the whole conversation

those who did not approve of so much severity, did not venture to oppose those who did; nor presume to contend for any punishment less barbarous, than what had been previously suggested: lest they should be vilified, and accused as accomplices, and treated in the same manner. His most gracious majesty, sufficiently inclined to punish before, was easily convinced of the necessity of inflicting, what he termed, an exemplary punishment. And after being fully informed of the delinquent's guilt, his majesty was graciously pleased to order, that the accused, for the offences of which he was charged, after having his joints dislocated, and passing through such other process as should be deemed necessary for the discovery of his accomplices, should be put to death, by the severest and most protracted torments, which could be devised. And for this purpose, his most gracious majesty, was also graciously pleased to order, that he should be immediately apprehended, and kept in close confinement, until the time appointed for his execution.

Similar misrepresentations are often privately made; and the accused seldom knows, except by accident or report, the real cause of his condemnation.

How dangerous it is to oppose the sycophants of a court, in any thing which is done to flatter royal vanity, is evident from the fate of Callisthenes, the philosopher. Too honest to conform to the impious ceremony of worshiping Alexander king of Macedonia, as a god, he respectfully intimated his disapprobation of it. But his honest conduct disgusted the king; and furnished a pretext for slander. Lysimachus and Agnon told Alexander, "that this Sophister (Callisthenes) went about, "*priding* himself, as if he stood in the gap against arbi-

" trary power; that the young men all ran after him, " and honoured him, as the only man among so many " thousands, who had the courage to preserve his liber- " ty." He was afterwards charged with being concerned in Hermolous's conspiracy. But it is probable that Alexander, though he put him to death under that pretext, did not believe the charge: for he acknowledges in some of his letters, " That those who were put to the " rack, confessed they had entered into the conspiracy, " wholly of themselves, without any others being privy " to, or guilty of it." The truth is, that Alexander could not endure to think, that any man should be honoured or eulogized besides himself. And thinking that he was eclipsed by the philosopher's great abilities, which were then very much admired, and being previously exasperated at him for refusing to adore him, he was determined to destroy him: and was undoubtedly the cause of his death; but in what manner, cannot be clearly ascertained.

Many examples might be given to shew, that it is the study of those who frequent courts, to learn their master's inclinations; and to appear to love what he loves, and hate what he hates. Hence, if he conceives a dislike of any individual, or wishes him destroyed, his inclination is quickly perceived; and to gratify it, becomes the great object of pursuit. Stimulated by hope and fear, a number of courtiers start in the chase; and whoever can take the lead, naturally expects to attract the tyrant's notice, and receive the first prize. The individual must be hunted down, because he is disgustful to his majesty; or an obstacle in the way of his wishes. It is immaterial whether he be innocent or not. *If he is hated, whoever* endeavours to lessen his penal-

ty, or ventures to express a doubt of his guilt, although his conduct proceed from the most benevolent motive, is accused of being a friend to a traitor, and a palliater of his crimes. Men are generally too apt to believe whatever is said against those whom they hate: but a king, inflamed with anger, and naturely credulous and suspicious, readily believes, when he is told, that the man who could speak in behalf of so guilty a wretch as the accused, must be an accomplice or confederate. Hence, in monarchies, whoever interferes in behalf of persons accused, are in danger of being sent, as their companions, to the same scaffold. Consequently, men who are represented as enemies to the king, have but little possibility of escaping from severe punishments: for while there are many inducements to speak against them, every one is afraid to speak in their favour. Thus the unreasonable jealousy, which kings are apt to display, is a perpetual obstruction to truth. They are generally destitute of judgmemt and information themselves; and those who are not are afraid to inform them. Being enclosed, by their own folly, from the sources of authentic information, they listen to those corrupt parasites, whom their own conduct seduces or actuates to delude them.

Thus do monarchs and their groups of sycophants by mutual excitements, operate on each other; and thus are the most innocent, nay, the most laudable actions, by successive exaggerations, metamorphosed into crimes; and both crimes and penalties, by successive amplifications, gradually magnified, until the severest sentences are passed on men, against whom there is not *a shadow* of evidence.

This deplorable sycophancy which I have described, soon makes its appearance, in miniature, in the families of the nobility and clergy. They have generally followed the example of courts: and a smaller, but similar scene of falsehood, dissimulation, and cruelty, has been exhibited, at different times, in every lordship and bishoprick in the world. In Europe, the feudel lords, in imitation of their masters, tortured their vassals on suspicion; and sometimes, with equal barbarity, put them to death. From the examples of kings, nobles, and prelates, the contagious cruelty, descends to others; and, at last the dreadful effects of monarchy, fear, and selfishness, are visible among all classes of people in the kingdom. The nation becomes barbarous: and torture, which of all things must be the most derogatory and injurious to man, and the most abominable in the sight of a merciful God, is employed for trifling causes; and generally for the most infamous purposes.

NOTE 84. A wise man would not desire to see his greatest enemy, treated with unnecessary severity. He might reasonably desire that mankind should be secured by the death of wicked men: but, if he had a thousand lives, he would rather lose them all, than attempt to discover his enemies by the torments of the accused. Such a mode of trial or discovery, is as contrary to reason, as it is to justice and humanity. It is irrational to believe, that, that which may and does, frequently disorder the mind, can extort the evidence of truth: and excessive terror or pain certainly has that effect: for in many instances persons who are sick, become, with much less pain than is occasioned by torture, delirious or deranged. Therefore how can it be known whether a person, at the moment of his confession, be

in a fit of delirium or not? or, supposing that to be known, how can it be ascertained whether his confession be true or false? if a person could endure torture without any weakness or desorder of mind, still, if he had great sensibility, and but little firmness or virtue, and could expect no speedy termination of his torments, but by accusing some body of guilt, he would be tempted to do it to put an end to his sufferings. If he had enemies, as most men have, they would probably be accused. But, if he had none, some sacrifice would, notwithstanding, be offered at the throne of despotism to obtain relief.

It is as irrational, to use torture as a mode of trial, as it is to employ it, as a means of discovery. In such trials, the escape of the guilty would be more probable, than that of the innocent: for, although it is not without exception, it is certainly a general rule, that they who are criminal, and are the most inclined to commit crimes, have the least sensibility; the most fear of death or future punishment; and the most attachment to the pleasures of the world. They have the least sensibility, or they would be ashamed to commit crimes; and would have too much compassion to commit them: the most fear of death, or future punishments; because they are wicked and guilty; and the most attachment to the pleasures of the world; or they would not perpetrate crimes for the sake of them. Therefore, in the trial by torture, as they have less sensibility, they would be less sensible of pain; and would suffer less than the innocent: and, at the same time, as they are the most afraid of death; and the most attached to the world, *they* would have stronger inducements to indure torture, *without* making a confession of guilt. So that if any

escape in this penal and barbarous species of trial, they are the guilty, and not the innocent.

That it is inconsistent with justice and humanity, to torture men to make them acknowledge that they are guilty, is too obvious to require any eomment. At least, it must be obvious to every one, who has not been prejudiced or stultified, by being educated under the darkness of monarchical government. There is scarcely a child of seven years old, in a democracy, but would know it to be unjust: but the degree or extent of the injustice, is not quite so obvious. Every freeman, however, knows that it would be wrong to put a man to death, until he had every opportunity of proving his innocence: and, not only until he had that opportunity, but, until he was publicly proved, by credible testimony, to be guilty. If it is unjust to put a man to death before his guilt is actually ascertained, it must be immensely more so, to put a man to the rack before it is known whether he be criminal or not, to extort a confession of guilt: for the difference between instant death, and protracted torture, is inconceivably great. "A death which instantly destroys the sensorium, seat, or root of sensation, instantly puts an end to worldly pain. But that which approaches it by slow degrees, gnawing, corroding, or tearing the fibres and branches which are connected with it, may torment its patient a long time before life is destroyed; and may cause as many pangs in each instant during its continuance, as may be caused by death, in the single instant which it employs. Consequently, torture may produce a million of pangs to him, who would suffer but one if he died an instant death. If torture increases the pain of death from one, to a million, it is in the same proportion more *atrocious to torture* a man on suspicion, than to put

him to death for the same cause, before he has been fairly tried and convicted. It may be supposed, perhaps, that some allowance ought to be made in this comparison, for the difference between the loss of life, and the possibility of preserving it, by insensibility or fortitude in the sufferance of torture: but this possibility is very small or remote; and if it be not, it is of no value: for the subjects of monarchy are, in general, so extremely wretched, that it would be a folly, in them, to prolong life, by suffering the pain of torture. Life, in their condition, is not worth a single pain; and therefore, cannot be reckoned in the calculation or comparison.

It is so far from being just, to put a man to the rack on suspicion, that it is wrong to offer him the least avoidable injury; because it is uncertain whether he be criminal or not. But, if a man's guilt be doubtful, it requires but little sagacity to discover, that no man has a right to lay hold of him, for the purpose of making him admit, that he is guilty; unless the common notion, that a man ought not to be punished first, and tried afterwards, be erroneous; or unless it be proper, that the punishment should precede the detection of guilt; and, in many cases, the guilt also; instead of the trial and offence preceding the punishment.

If it is enormously unjust to rack a man, who is merely suspected of an offence, it is, if possible, still more unjust to torture one, who is only supposed to know the crimes of another; and who is not only not even suspected of any offence; but may be, and most probably is, destitute of the knowledge of any.

What would be said in this country, if, instead of *calling* a witness before a jury to be examined on oath,

he should be placed on a rack and tortured; until he charged some person or persons with an offence. The people, with one voice, would cry; shame! and their just indignation, like a torrent, would sweep the monster who should attempt it, from the face of the earth.

Such, then, is the difference, between democracy and monarchy, that, while one is too tender to allow a man to be asked on his oath, whether he be criminal or not, the other, tortures him to make him confess his guilt: nay, and is even too inhuman to admit of any denial. Such, also, is the state to which mankind may be debased by the latter, that while freemen are shocked at the idea of such horrible atrocities; and, with one will, would hurl the man to perdition who should perpetrate them; slaves or subjects tamely and thoughtlessly submit to them. But it is in vain, to attempt to pourtray any thing so enormously, so diabolically wicked, as the act or practice of torturing men to force them to accuse themselves or others, of some suspected offence, of which it is, or is not, supposed they have a knowledge Such, however, has been the practice of monarchs: and such would forever be their practice, if the light from democracy did not, in some instances, or transient gleams, penetrate the gloom which surrounds them. This light may, sometimes, produce effects which suggest the idea, that it is safest, at particular times, to intermit this practice; but, whenever the peculiar cause of of intermission ceases, the practice will return. Even if one monarch be better than another, still, unless the light come from abroad, there is but little probability of any intermission of such abuses: for the majority of subjects are reduced to ignorance; and the few who

have formed just or true opinions, dare not propagate them.

NOTE 85. A man may feel something, which appears like compassion for his children, favourite, or particular animal; and yet may have no feeling for any one besides. But this cannot properly be called compassion: for the greatest savage may have a similar feeling. True compassion is a sensation which arises, merely from the sight or contemplation, of some object in distress; and which, without any selfish motives, excites the godlike desire of removing its sufferings: and whoever is susceptible of it, is not only liable to be affected, by one object or species; but by the miseries of every creature or animal which he meets.

He who is all alive to the smallest inquietude of one, and, at the same time, as cruel as winter to another, shews a contemptible narrowness of mind; and is not, in reality, virtuous. Persons who are not compassionate, may it is trne, profess virtue; but they seldom or never possess it. And though they may even sustain the character or reputation of being righteous, they are unworthy of their characters.

NOTE 86. Religious seremony without good conduct, is certainly pernicious. It has a tendency to establish practices, inconsistent with professions. Weak minds when they are cheated by one who makeshigh professions of religion, are apt to suppose that, all pretentions to goodnes are masks, which are put on to deceive the ignorant. And infering from thence, that the sentiments which before restrained them, are false, they also assume the mask of deception, which they suppose to be *fashionable*, or suspect others of wearing; and, in like *manner*, enter into the same dishonest practices, which

they impute to them. Therefore, he who goes regularly to church, and whines, and prays, while he is inside of its walls, and takes all advantages of his neighbour when he is out; and who feels no concern for any thing, except when self, or self interest is concerned, does more mischief in society, than he who robs on the highway. An undisguised reprobate is known, and may, therefore, be avoided: he is despised; and his infamy renders him less dangerous. But the hypocrite or concealed reprobate has more influence; and, like a subtile poison, or pestilence, he infects those who approach him. He occasions more litigation, deprives us of more property, and causes more anxiety, without affording a remedy, than the burglar or midnight robber.

By observing the forms and neglecting the substance of religion, vicious or cruel customs are connected with society, by the strong ties and prejudices of superstition. And by such means, while religion itself is banished from a country, ridiculous, expensive, and pernicious ceremonies, are substituted in its stead. It was so in Europe, under the dominion of popery: while the essential part of religion was lost, the name of it was preserved to sanction cruelty, and injustice, and impose burthens on mankind.

There has been a great number of different sects and opinions in the world: and every sect has had the presumption to say, that they were the most orthodox. But I shall not presume to say, which of them were the most so. My ancestors and myself were educated, if not in the strictest manner, agreeable to the most rational and feasible part of the discipline of the society of friends. But, whatever my religious opinions be, I am not so much of an enthusiast as to condemn all

others. It is not my intention therefore, to compare different sects; nor to quarrel with any of them about their religion. But, although I do not mean to quarrel with any man about his religious opinions, his conduct whether it proceed from those opinions or not, if it be injurious to society, may justly be made the object of animadversion.

NOTE 87. I have endeavoured, in the text, to shew this important truth: that, upon any hypothesis or supposition which can be imagined, respecting the nature of man, and a fiuture state; that is, whether souls after death be liable to punishment in this world, or some other, or whether mind survive the body, or perish with it, still, it is the true interest of all men to be merciful to every sensible creature; and that whoever believes any of these suppositions, if he act consistently, must act justly and humanely. But, for a further illustration of this important subject, I shall offer a few explanatory remarks; to which, I request the particular and candid attention of the reader.

And, first, to the believer I remark, that whatever a man's religious opinions be, if he be a christian and act consistently, he must act mercifully and justly: for, if God is a merciful being, every act of cruelty must be inconsistent with hismercy; and must, therefore, be a sin. And surely if any sin is punished in a future state, it is the sin of cruelty; because it is both an offence against God, and an injury to his creation. Consequently, every christian who treats any animal whatever with wanton or unnecessary severity, acts incongruously with his belief; incurs the displeasure of the deity; and certainly be *comes* obnoxious to punishment.

Secondly, The same reasoning is applicable to the Jews, Parsees, Budsoists, Hindoos, and Mahometans, and to all other people, who believe in a future state of rewards and punishments.

But, thirdly, To the Materialists and Atheists, I say, that if your opinions be true, it is no less the interest of mankind to be just and merciful. As you suppose, that men can have no spiritual existence, you must believe that they, or the materials of which they are made, are forever confined to this world. If this be the case, what is the conclusion? We know that the bodies of men are composed of the different vegetables and animals which they eat; and when human bodies are dissolved, the matter of which they are formed, must, sooner or later, by the inevitable process of nature, be renovated or reorganized.

That matter is subject to successive dissolutions, and reorganizations, is not doubted by most men; and may be so demonstrated, that no one can doubt it, who has common nnderstanding: for, by the proper chymical process, animal bodies may be annalyzed or separated and their component parts ascertained. And thus the same species of substance, may be extracted from the animal or from the vegetable on which it feeds. This is a conclusive proof, that the same matter changes from vegetable to animal, and from animal to vegetable substance. But there is another mode of demonstating this proposition, which is equally conclusive. This is by shewing the efficacy of carnous or animal manure. This kind of manure is more productive than any other. But it could not be productive without becoming the food or nourishment of the plant: and if it nourishes *the plant, it must* be vegetative, or transformable into

grass, and other vegetables. If carnal substances are capable of being transformed into vegetables, it is equally manifest that vegetables are no less capable of being transformed into animals: for whatever sustains the animal, must necessarily form a part of his body.

If the carcases of kine be left to dissolve, and spread over the ground, the grass or herbage which happens to be placed there, grows more exuberantly: and this proves that the substance of the kine is reproduced in grass. If cattle be grazed on this grass, it will be reorganized in other kine; and if these kine be eaten by men, and transformed into human flesh, this flesh, after the men die, will be no less herbescent or capable of norishing grass, than it would be if it were spread over the ground immediately after the death of the kine. Thus, all animal and vegetable substances, when spread over the surface of the earth, and exposed to the action or influence of the sun, must necessarily vegetate, or, at least, nourish the plants which are placed in them. These plants must, as necessarily, nourish the animals which feed on them. And therefore it must be evident or deducible, that these substances are successively organized, disorganized or dissolved, and reorganized. Though they may lay for some time in a dormant or inactive state; yet the perpetual fluctuation of the elements, must, at periods not very distant, bring all these sudstances in succession, near the surface of the earth. Many of them are volatile or exhalable; and after being raised and dispersed in the air, fall to the ground; and are imbibed by the vegetables. The rest are brought to the surface by different means; some of them are carried away in the waters, to become the food of fish, and through them, the flesh of man; for the covetousness

man, by various devices, drains both sea and land; and will not permit these bodies, to lay long in a state of rest.

The matter, therefore, of which a human body is made, must be renacible; or subject to an infinite number of reproductions. But it will not be immediately reorganized, in one mass or animal; nor in the same species: for as it must be dispersed by the elements, it may assist in the formation of a thousand different animals, and different species of animals. And although its particles may, at some futuretime, meet in one body of the same kind, it must be a great length of time, before there can be a fortuitous assemblage of such an infinite number of identical atoms; and a union of them, by a similar organization. However, the same matter must be somewhere reorganized, either in the same or a different species of animals. The conclusion, therefore, is, that if men can have no spiritual existence, they must be eternally subject to the miseries of this world; and they must be fools who would do any thing to increase them.

It is evident, that no particle of matter can be annihilated, or cease to be. The candle which was burned, ceased to exist; but every atom which it contained, is in existence still: for it ceased, not by annihilation, but by evaporation or dispersion. So a human body may dissolve; but no particle of it can be annihilated.

Every man knows by experience, that there is either a spiritual or material part within him, which is subject to pain: for every man has the conclusive evidence of this, in his own perceptions. Now if life is a union of spirit and matter, *spirit must* be the patient, and may be punish-

ed here or hereafter, for the misdeeds of life. But if life be merely the result of peculiar organizations of matter, then matter must be the patient; and as it is reorganizable or liable to reorganizations, and not annihilable, it must be subject to the evils of this world.

I say, then, that every one knows by experience, the best of all teachers, that there is a patient, or part susceptible of pain, within him. And although different opinions may exist, respecting the nature of this patient, yet upon any supposition which can be made, it must continue to exist, either in a state of perpetual sensibility, or with short intermissions. Consequently, if we suppose that this patient is a soul or spirit, which may exist independently of the body, in another world; or if we suppose that the soul be an eternal resident of this world, and subject to transmigrations from body to body; or if we suppose that there is no soul, and that matter is the patient; still, upon any of these suppositions, it must be a demonstrable folly and inconsistency, to do any thing criminally, which is unjust or cruel; or which has a tendency to augment the evils of life. For if the first supposition is true, man will be punished for his wickedness in another world: and if the second or third supposition be true, he will be punished in this, if he does any thing to increase the sum of terrestrial misery.

It may, perhaps, be alledged, that human actions cannot augment nor diminish the evils of this world; and that crimes can have no influence beyond the time of commission, nor the patient or object on whom they are committed. But we know from the different *states*, in which different nations are found, that the *condition of* life may be vastly changed by moral causes. In

some countries, the inhabitants are mutually destructive of each other's happiness. One class preys upon another, occupies their time, and imposes hardships upon them, for no other purpose than to cheat them out of their property; and compel them to support the useless and hapless pomp of their oppressors. Thus one half of the time which is spent, or the trouble which is endured, while it causes much real misery, does not produce a tittle of real benefit to any one.

By introducing or perpetuating good or bad institutions, laws, customs, and practices, we may not only greatly benefit or distress mankind, in general, but the animals which come under their control. For, if the first order in power presses heavily on the second; the second will press more heavily on the third; the third, on the fourth, and so on down through every degree in the state. Therefore, as the presure below is in proportion to the weight above, even the onerary and esculent animals, must feel the poverty, and oppression, of their masters.

It must, I think, be evident, that the condition of mankind may be vastly altered by crimes and aggressions: for the more crimes, and the more fear, anxiety, melancholy, and distrust; and the more expence and difficulty in protecting life, and in obtaining, securing, and defending property.

Think of the cost, trouble, solicitude, and affliction, occasioned among mankind, by reciprocal endeavours to injure, cheat, or defraud each other: think of the difficulty, labour, and pain, arising from absurd notions, customs, and institutions: think on the habitual inhumanity, occasioned by these notions, and by examples of cruelty: *think of the* frequent barbarities, produced by

these cruel habits; and by a want of proper restrictions, and educations: and then say, whether the evils and miseries of this world, may not be vastly increased or diminished by human actions. Think also, of nations being kept in fear for two thirds of their time by war: think of the violence, waste, and cruelty which attends it: think of nations being unable to repair the loss occasioned by one dispute, before another commences: think of the expence and trouble of great military or defensive establishments: think in short of the miseries of despotism or monarchy: and then say, whether the state of mankind may not be immensely improved or impaired by their own conduct.

As to the effect of offences in all cases, beyond the object on whom they are committed, to say nothing of the evils which must result to the offender before his death, if the second or third supposition be true, he will certainly be punished, in this world, after his decease: for every crime, however, secretly committed, has a tendency to produce others, by its influence on the committer, sufferer, detector, or their offspring. But the manner of its operation, it is not necessary to detail: at least, this note will be much too prolix, if I describe minutely, the various modes in which these causes produce their effects. It will be admitted, however, that one bad example or precept will produce others; and that, in this manner, pernicious opinions and customs are too firmly established, to be easily eradicated. These opinions and customs are, therefore, perpetuated through future ages: and, thereby, the condition of life, in every state and form, is rendered more unhappy or miserable.

In some countries, cruel sports and diversions, at the

expence of the sufferings of men, beasts, and other animals, have been most scandalously tolerated, for many ages successively. Some of those which are most prominent, or customary, are man-fighting, cock-fighting, and bull and bear baiting; and, I may add horseracing. I lately heard of a horse-race in which, one of the horses was killed, and the other, nearly ruined. A couple of two-legged beasts, laid a wager on their horses; and started with the intention of running them, upwards of sixty miles at a heat. They goaded them forward without food or water, more than fifty miles: but before they reached the place of destination, one of the horses sank down under his brutal rider: the blood gushed out of both ends; and he expired in a few minutes. For several miles before he came to the place where he died, this poor animal, labouring in the pangs of death, and perhaps foreknowing his approaching fate, showed a strong desire to leave the road. But his savage rider urged him on with whip and spur, until he broke his heart. The other horse, although he survived, was, at the same time, unable to raise out of a walk; and will probably labour in pain, as long as he lives. The scoundrels who rode these horses, may, perhaps, appear in a human shape; and may, therefore, be classed by some people, with the human species: but, whatever their shape may be, they must appear to all men of reason, reflection, or humanity, to be more beastly, than the beasts they rode. The story of this race, will probably be a subject of laughter for some few: but it is one however, which merits the serious attention of the legislature. Every man of feeling must be shocked with such wanton and excessive cruelty; and must wish to see the *day*, when the laws shall provide an adequate

penalty, for all such villains, and against all kinds of barbarity.

Although horses endure so much useful toil, they are often subjected to much useless hardship, through the avarice of their owners; or the negligence, vanity, or cruelty of their drivers. Part of this mischief may be prevented by the legislature: but more may be done by the proprietors of these animals, if they will be more cautious not to employ drunken or intemperate persons to drive them. They are, too often, entrusted to men who are adicted to intoxication; or men whose sensibilities or understandings have been impaired by the frequent use of spirituous liquors. It must be very improper, to deliver these animals chained and confined, into the power of such brutes: for, whenever it is done, they will certainly be abused. A drunken man can have neither pity nor discretion. He orders a horse to go the wrong way; and then whips him for doing as he was ordered. If the horse from being frightened and perplexed by such treatment, becomes less tractable, he jerks him this way, and that, and lashes him, drives him, and worries him, nearly to death: for he knows not what he is about; nor, perhaps, where he is going; and he is, therefore, a more stupid beast than his horse. Persons who are devoted to ebriosity, are generally nuisances to society; and ought to be employed in some business, which can afford them no opportunity of abusing any thing besides themselves. Habitual ebriety is, in many respects, a much greater evil in a community, than many people imagine: and all proper means ought to be employed to check its progress. It is frequently observed, that persons who are adicted to it are most injurious to themselves: but those who can

trate the consequences of it, will perceive, that they are often as much or more injurious to others, than they are to themselves.

As the subject of cruelty to brutes forms a part, or is involved in the theme, of this note, I cannot take my leave of it without observing, that the improper conduct of parents, too often, tends, to blunt the edge of their offspring's compassion: and consequently to augment the miseries of life. They often permit, nay, even encourage their children to sport with the fears and pains of such animals as fall in their way. The silly parent, instead of whipping his children for diverting themselves with the unhappiness of any creature whatever, laughs like another child, at their wicked diversion; and with the most contemptible of all vanities, thinks his children have fine capacities because they are wicked or thoughtless. O foolish parents! instead of encouraging your children in such shameful diversions, there is nothing for which you ought to correct them sooner, than for making the pain of any thing the object of their sport: and nothing in which you ought not to indulge them, rather than in that. Many adults, as well as children, seem to find an amusement in wantonly plagueing or abusing some kind of animal: and it is to their natural stupidity, and this improper education, that we are to attribute the most of this evil.

Their is one species of persons, or more properly brutes, whose chief delight appears to consist, in the severities which they exercise on their servants. These animals, either to show their authority, or for some other equally despicable motive, are almost incessently whipping or reproaching these, who daily and patiently *administer to their* wants. I have heard of some of

them, who were so brutally and loathsomely stupid, as to boast of these domestic exploits.

The greater number of these mischiefs are not inevitable. They proceed, originally, from that bad principle, which I have mentioned in a former note: and which by proper methods, might be restrained. (See note 101.)

I think it must appear from what has been observed, that animal matter is subject to reorganization, and not to annihilation, nor to a separation from this earthly abode. I think, it must also appear, that some part of man's nature is subject to suffer; and will be subject to suffer after death: and that crimes and cruelties increase the evils of this world.

Now as matter is confined to this world, that which is confined to this world, if it be sensible or susceptible of pain, is subject to its evils. Therefore, if organized matter be the patient, or part which suffers, organized matter or man, is subject to the evils of this world.

If man be subject to the miseries of this world, crimes and cruelties increase these misseries, therefore, they who commit crimes or cruelties augment their own miseries; and are thus, even upon the supposition that man is nothing more than organized matter, punished for their crimes and iniquities. The materialist, desist, or athiest, must not, therefore, hope to escape from punishment, if he commits offences. If offences augment the difficulties and calamities of every situation in life, he will find, in any situation in which he can possibly revive or be reanimated, the punishment or calamity, which his crimes have produced. Even if we admit that the miseries of every situation, are not

increased by the perpetration of wrongs, still, if the matter contained in his body, may be divided and reanimated in thousands of different bodies, and species of animals at the same time; and if it may be reanimated in all situations, and in an indefinite number of times, or time after time, forever, he can have no chance of escape: for agent will become patient; and patient will become agent, alternately and frequently, indefinitely or without end.

If he console himself with the idea that this punishment is posthumous, or subsequent to death; let him reflect that it is both dreadful and certain: let him reflect while he is pining under any moral evil, which, through ignorance, he is unable to avoid, that if he had made a proper use of the uuderstanding, which he possessed, in a former and less defective state of organization, that the misfortune which he now regrets might have been prevented. Or, if this idea be not intelligible to his mind; let him reflect that if the millions, who are groaning under the oppressions to which their imbecility subjects them, had made a better use of their mental powers, when, in former systems, they possessed better faculties; and had not criminally prostituted or perverted those faculties, to countenance or establish examples of oppression, that they would not, now, be subject to the evils which they deplore.

Some men are fearless of all punishments which are at a little distance; and will not give themselves much trouble to avoid them. But this is a certain mark of folly. These same men, when the time of retribution arrives; and they are made wise by punishment; regret, as much as others would, that they incurred the *penalty*. Before the commission of crimes,

men often waver between nolition and volition, or between willingness and unwillingness, in coming to a determination to commit them; but when they are punished for these crimes, there is no hesitation in determining, that if they had their time to run through again, they would not commit them. And surely there is great room for hesitation in the one case, and not in the other: for to oblige themselves to pay a million to-morrow, for the enjoyment of a cent to-day, must certainly be a very great folly. Besides, "experience is the best "teacher:" and when men have experienced the proper punishment or consequence of crimes, they can easily perceive the folly of committing them. Now, the judgment which is formed after the acquisition of experience and information, is certainly more likely to be right, than that which was formed before: and if it be; the judgment which criminals form after an adequate punishment, (or even at its approach, if it be death,) must be better than that which was formed before; and this is, that it is impolitic to commit offences; or that "honesty is the best policy."

He who believes in the second or third supposition should reflect, if either of them be true, that in the endless changes and vicissitudes through which he must pass, he will not always possess the same means, nor the same intelligence, to avoid calamities or moral evils: and he should, therefore, endeavour, as much as possible, to banish them from the world: lest they should overtake him in a more helpless state or situation.

When he sees any animal, which has not the capacity of helping itself, tortured or unnecessarily incommoda*ted or disturbed*, let him reflect, let him seriously and *rationally* reflect, how he would feel in a similar condi-

tion: for if he tolerate such conduct, some other may stand by, with as little concern, and see him tormented in the same or a similar manner; and in the same or a similar state, let him reflect also, that, although the folly of the ignorant may seem to be the cause of a great part of their misfortunes, both their folly and their misfortunes are the remote or immediate effects of the perversion of those abilities, which they once possessed in anteriour systems. Imbecility is not a crime; but it is often the effect of crimes, and consequently a part of their punhisment. Whoever posesses the knowledge of good and evil; and does not perform the one, and abstain from the other, commits a crime. And it is for these wilful or criminal errors alone, that men are punished: although, if they be punished in this world, they may be punished in a more ignorant state, than that in which their offences were committed. Let him who possesses knowledge or capacity, use it wisely while he has it. No one can commit or omit a conscious duty with impunity. No one can prevert or abuse the gift of intellect in vain: for he who does, wastes the light which has been allotted to him; and will certainly suffer in darkness.

From the whole, the conclusion is, that whoever admits that man is either spiritual or material, must admit that he will be punished after death, either in a spiritual or material state, for his crimes.

I have not been so particular in the orthodox position, because every real christian knows, that he is liable to be punished hereafter, for every species of iniquity which he commits.

NOTE 88. According to the declarations o some *of the ancient princes*, their origin was partly hu-

man, and partly divine. Others were not satisfied with this mongrel extraction, and pretended to be the sons, even of gods and goddesses. And some, still more presumptious, would be nothing less than the omnipotent sovereigns of the universe; and required mankind to worship them accordingly.

At this dsy, the eastern monarchs stile themselves by such titles as, "Holy son of heaven:" "A God on "earth:" "Brother to the sun and moon:" "Sole "governor of the earth:" "Disposer of all earthly "crowns," &c. &c. And the stile of their grants and decrees begins thus: "This act is given by him whom "the universe obeys."

The monarchs of all ages and nations, well knowing that their power originated in treason and violence, have endeavoured to impose the belief on their subjects; that their titles were derived from the Deity. But they never have been able to shew any commission, parchment, or proof, in support of them. On the contrary, nearly all of them have given the strongest demonstrations of the falsehood of their pretentions. They have been as much puzzled, to shew a title from God, as they would be to shew one from the people. The truth is, they have no authority from either: and it is very extraordinary, that any man who believes in the divine attributes should credit their impudent fictions. For if they derived their power from God, he must be the author of all their crimes: but certainly their is nothing more inconsistent with the attributes of the Deity, than the atrocities which monarchs perpetrate. There would be much more reason to believe them, if they *had declared* that they had received their commission

from the devil : for in that case, their conduct would be agreeable to the spirit of their employer.

NOTE 89. If the number of monarchs who have died unnatural deaths could be ascertained, the number would appear to be much greater, comparatively, than the number of unnatural deaths, which have happened in private stations. What, therefore, can men gain by the acquisition of arbitrary or monarchal power? not security; for a much greater proportion of monarchs, than of private men, have died by violence: not repose, for they are in continual alarm and apprehension: not tranquility, for they are conscious of their injustice and want of virtue: not contentment, for they are never satisfied with what they possess: not the love of mankind, for they are always detested: not pleasure, for excesses destroy susceptibility: not gratification from the servility of subjects, for it is too familiar: not health, for intemperance and the cares of ambition destroy it: not longevity, for their habits and modes of life prevent it: not fame, for many of them are already forgotten; the rest are unworthy of remembrance; and their names will soon follow to the grave of oblivion. Men who have had neither riches nor dominion, house nor servant, have acquired a fame more valuable and lasting, than all the monarchs who have ever lived. The fame of monarchs is, at best, but infamy; and yet, for this fame, they often destroy their own peace, and the peace of mankind. They make themselves miserable by indolence and excess; and their subjects by hardship and want: therefore neither subjects nor monarchs can be happy.

NOTE 90. Lt. Gen. Edmond Ludlow, and Col. Algernon Sidney, justly and eminently distinguished

themselves by their great abilities and patriotism in the time of the Commonwealth in England. They were honestly and unalterably attached to free government; and laboured assiduously, though unsuccessfully, for its establishment. At the restoration of the Stewarts, they were compelled, with many others, to seek for safety in foreign countries. Gen. Ludlow had delivered himself within the time limited by proclamation; but being warned of the treachery of the king, he escaped from custody; and retired to Switzerland. Col. Sidney had been sent, in the character of embassador, to the northern nations; and had not returned before the re-establishment of royalty. Besides him and general Ludlow; John Lisle, and William Say, Esquires, and several others, were forced to abandon their country. But the confiscation of their estates, and their banishment from their families, friends, and native land, was not sufficient to satisfy the satanical spirit of monarchy. Every artifice was tried; and the public treasure repeatedly lavished on the most bloody murderers, to procure the assassination of some of the best and most venerable men that England ever produced. Some of the unfortunate exiles were taken, sent back, and executed in England. But notwithstanding the number of assassins, whom Charles and his mother had employed, to destroy general Ludlow, he was fortunate enough to escape.

The detestable perfidy of the Stewarts, and their coadjetors, ought to be an everlasting admonition to warn all men, never to risk their lives, on the faith of kings: for treachery and inhumanity is the very essence of royalty. The same degree of turpitude or atrocity, which any peculiar species of men have exhibited, the

same kind of men, when acting under similar circumstances, or inducements, will exhibit at any time. Therfore the same degree of cruelty; and disregard of moral honesty, which was displayed by Charles and his minions, in England, will be displayed again, whenever the same class of men, shall be placed in a similar situation.

Charles could have no reason to apprehend danger from the exiles, if they had been permitted to live peaceably where they were: or even if they had returned to their native country. They had no intention of opposing him, without the co-operation of the people of England. And if a disposition to assist in the establishment of democracy, in case of a general opposition to royalty, was a sufficient reason to destroy them, there was the same reason to destroy more than one half of the nation: for the same desire existed in both. The exiles had manifested no disposition to make any fruitless attempt: but on the contrary, they had proved that they were not disposed to attack the king, without the assistance of the British nation: for as I before observed, they were as inimical to the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, as they were to that of Charles Stewart: and yet they made no attempt against it. Charles knew that they were good men; and his hatred of their honest principles, and inflexible integrity, was the cause of his desire to destroy them. Some of them had set in the high court of justice, at the trial of his father. But that was no just cause of resentment: for his father was the cause of his own death. He would be satisfied with nothing less, than the unconditional submission of the people, to his intolerable oppression;

and the destruction of some of the best men in the kingdom. The nation, therefore, were under the necessity of proceeding as they did in their own defence. But supposing, for a moment, that he had a right to the powers which had descended from his ancestors; who is the most blamable, he who makes the assault, or he who is assaulted? For, in the case of which I am speaking, the king made the first attack or assault, on the people and parliament; and nothing but death could put an end to his violence.

The destruction or murder of all those, who fell in the dispute between the king and parliament; and of those who were executed in consequence of it, is evidently chargable on the Stewarts. Because it is obvious that wherever men fall in a dispute between parties, the murder is imputable to the party, who was indeavouring to do injustice, and not to the one who opposed it.

Charles I. had all the luxuries which the human system is susceptible of enjoying; and more power than a good man would desire: and, therefore, the murders which he committed, and the miseries which he occasioned, were the effects of his diabolical wickedness. What must sober, humane, and judicious men, think of such villains? what must they think of the wretches, who, after disturbing the repose of a nation with the horrors of civil war, and forcing the most beneficent from their families, their tranquility, and retirement, to defend themselves and the nation from outrage, could charge them with self defence as a crime; columniate them without permitting them to be heard in their own defence; and, at last, put them to death in such a cruel and coldblooded manner, under

all the aggravations of invective insult and abuse? Language wants a name for the monsters, who could commit such a complication of crimes.

Gen. Ludlow, col. Sidndy, and the rest of the unfortunate exiles; and all the generous patriots, who were so barbarously executed by the orders of Charles II. would have remained peaceably at home, in the bosom of their families, if they had been left unmolested by tyranny. But the nation called them from home to defend them from tyrants; and tyrants murdered them, or many of them, for what the nation had done.

Gen. Ludlow died a natural death in Switzerland: but col. Sidney, being more unfortunate, was executed after his return to England. They had not been members of the high court of justice, at the trial of Charles I. and if they had, it could not, as I have already shewn, have justified the least degree of punishment: although if they had set in that court, it might have been made a slight pretext for that purpose. If we may judge from the horrible terpitude of Charles II. and from what is customary in royal families, he would not have hesitated, with a suitable opportunity, to destroy his father himself. Many other princes have committed a similar offence, who were not as vicious as he was. And, no doubt, if he had got the crown immediately after his father died, he would have rejoiced at his death. Like other princes, he felt no regret for his father: what he wanted was the power which his father had possessed; and for this he was willing to destroy millions of lives.

NOTE 91. Stephen Montford earl of Leicester, killed at the battle of Evesham, in the civil war

or anarchy, occasioned by Henry III. king of England.

NOTE 92. Richard, duke of York, killed, at Wakefield Green, in a battle between the Lancastrians and Yorkists, in the time of Henry VI. of England. The houses of York and Lancaster, were both the descendants of Edward III. They both claimed the crown: and, as they alternately predominated, alternately seized it. The two parties were distinguished by different badges: and they prevailed, by turns, from the reign of Richard II. until the execution of Perkin Warbeck, in the reign of Henry VII. During this long period, many bloody battles were fought; many lives were lost; and great calamities brought on the nation. The wicked spirit of royalty had kindled such implacable animosities between the parties, that those who fell into the hands of their enemies, were generally treated with great inhumanity.

NOTE 93. The earl of Warwick, killed at Barnet, in a battle between the Yorkists and Lancastrians.

NOTE 94. Richard III. king of England, slain at the battle of Bosworthfield. In this battle the Lancastrians, under the command of the earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.) overcame the Yorkists.

NOTE 95. Lord Lincoln, slain at the battle of Stake, in the time of Henry VII.

NOTE 96. Jane Gray, executed by the order of bloody queen Mary, for claiming the crown, or for consenting to be proclaimed queen of England.

NOTE 97. James duke of Monmoth, put to death for claiming the british throne in the time of James II.

NOTE 98. I have alluded in the text, to the anarchies which have been occasioned by the royal families of England: because I have supposed that those examples, would be most familiar to the reader. But other nations have experienced tumults and desolations, still more dreadful from the same cause. There has, probably, never been a monarchy in the world, in which there has not been frequent contentions for the crown. And these contests have often taken place, between princes of the same blood, or branches of the same family. Every kingdom, of which history furnishes an account, has been nearly ruined or depopulated, by the violent contentions of its princes.

The Egyption, Assyrian, Persian, and Roman Empires, were frequently harrassed by the rapacious competitors, who contended for the crown. In the empire of Rome, whose history is, perhaps, most full and authentic, three or four imperial rivals, generally appeared in each reign; and as many civil wars to determine their claims. Their failure or success was equally destructive to the inhabitants: as those who obtained the crown seldom forgot to destroy their opponents. The mass of the people, perhaps, equally detesting all the competitors, knew not which way to incline. To the intelligent partiality or neutrality appeared equally dangerous. It was dangerous to conceal their sentiments; and dangerous to declare them. If men refused to welcome the faction who prevailed in their neighbourhood, they were destroyed as its enemies; and, if they declared in its favour, and it were suppressed, they were treated as the enemies of its rival. Historians affirm, that there were no less than 18 or 19, competitors, contending for the empire at one time: and that each of those leaders,

carried great numbers of people to destruction. We may judge of the fears, perils, and desolations of such times, from the letters of some of the emperors: for some of them wrote to the generals whom they had sent into the provinces, to "spare none who wished ill to "them."

Since the fall of the Roman empire, other monarchies have been harrassed and wasted in the same way, by a competition for princely power. Germany was nearly desolated by the great factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines: Naples and Sicily, by those of Anjou and Aragon; and France, by those of Burgundy and Orleans, and of Valoise, Guise and Bourbon.

Whatever may have been the pretexts or ostensible motives, for those dreadful broils, arbitrary government was the cause which produced them. Princes and Prelates could not agree about a division of plunder, or property, extorted from the people. And, in support of their opposite pretentions to establish titles, powers, and their emoluments, they formed parties; and fomented civil and religious wars. The factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, raged for three hundred years successively: and during that long period, science, agriculture, and manufactures, were constantly retarded, or intirely suspended; and the fruits of former industry plundered or destroyed. According to the best historians, the whole face of Germany was spread with ruin and carnage; and resembled a country which had been desolated, by a rude and ferocious enemy. This is the state to which Germany was reduced, by the contentions of her titularies; and, in Naples and France, a similar picture of devastation and misery, was exhibited. The attention of men was too much engrossed, and their

passions too much inflamed by those princely factions, to adopt, by general consent, any method of providing for their common safety, by restraining violence and injustice; and all kinds of rapine, robbery and assassination, frequented every part of these unhappy countries. The inhabitants were not only instigated to destroy each other privately and individually, but publicly and collectively. And these royal anarchies, as such anarchies usually are, were distinguished by the most deliberate and frightful massacres of many thousands at a time. That one anarchy alone, or concatination of anarchies, which was produced by the claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon to the crown of Naples and Sicily, continued for two centuries together; and produced such prodigious scenes and calamites, as must shock every sensible reader. Kings of the Angevin and Aragonese lines, were alternately seated on the Neapolitan throne: and during this period, one revolution followed another with the most astonishing rapidity: yet the frequency of these revolutions, was not more astonishing than the crimes which accompanied them.

Many other contests for titles and power, have been witnessed in these kingdoms; but the limits of this note will not allow me to mention them.

The dreadful dissentions or anarchies, arising from royal claims, have been no less destructive to the nations of Asia, than to those of Europe. A very recent instance of this ruinous anarchy, has been experienced in Persia. Of twenty princes, who have claimed or possessed the throne of Persia, within the space of an hundred years, not more than two or three have died a natural death in the possession of it. Hassein who succeeded in 1694, was dethroned by Ashraff, Ashraff by

Esriff, Esriff, by Thamas, and Thamas, by Kouli Khan, or Shah Nadir. Nadir was a monster of the most diabolical kind. He persecuted his subjects on account of their religion. He endeavoured to terrify them, by the most inhuman executions; and his cruelties became at last, so insufferable, that his relations and officers killed him in his tent, in 1747. After his death, nine pretenders to the throne rose, almost at the same time. All Persia was up in arms; and such confusion and devastation ensued, that no very particular account of the transactions of each, appear to have been received. Adil Shah occupied the throne nine months; Ibraheem Shah, six months; and Shah Rokh Shah, after several revolutions, reached the city of Meshid in Khorasan. Suleeman Shah and Ismaeel Shah, were destroyed in about forty days after they were raised. Azad Khan Afghan was taken prisoner, by Kerim Khan Zund. Hussun Khan Kejar besieged Shirouz; and was also taken by Kerim, who struck of his head. Ali Merdin Khan was killed on the ramparts of Meschid, while he was encouraging his men. Kerim Khan Zund, after a variety of conflicts, defeated all his rivals; and kept possession of the Persian throne, the few remaining years of his life. After his death in 1779, new commotions arose. Twenty two chief officers took possession of the citadel, resolved to acknowledge Kerim's eldest son, Abul Futtah Khan: but Zikea Khan, a relation, enlisted part of the army; and swore that, if the twenty-two would come out, they should not be touched: but when they delivered themselves up, they were all massacred by his orders, while he sat feasting his eyes on the spectacle. This monster was killed; and Abut was raised to the throne. But his uncle Mahomid Sadick Khan

put his nephew's eyes out, and took possession of the crown. (In Persia, a blind man is deemed incapable of inheriting the crown; and therefore, some of the Persian monarchs who were partial to younger sons, put out the eyes of the eldest to render them incapable of reigning.) Ali Murad Khan, thinking he had as good a right as Sadick, took Shirouz; and assumed the government. The Persians had, now, some hope of an interval of peace. But Akou, Mahomed Khan gathered some troops in the north; and was proclaimed about the time that Murad took Shirouz. Jaafar Khan, son of Sadick, was also proclaimed about the same time. Murad Marched to meet Akou; but died on the way. And Akou, who had been one of Nadir's eunichs, had twice defeated Jaafar: but in 1788, when Mr. Franklin published an account of these events they were still contending for empire.

Thus, Persia, like other countries, has been harassed from one century to another, by the wasteful dissentions of her princes. During these disputes, millions of lives were lost; and crimes committed without restraint. Agreeably to the best information, there is not a province in Persia, which does not exhibit the most melancholy marks of royal infatuation and anarchy. The Persians possess one of the most fertile countries in the world. And yet it must be evident, from these broils, that they have not enjoyed the smallest comforts of life. Through the temptation of a crown, peace property, and science, has been lost; and their country strewed with ruins, from one end to the other. Whereas, if they had taken that bawble away, they might have enjoyed peace, plenty, and happiness.

It is unnecessary to notice many examples: but wherever monarchy has existed, mankind have been kept in civil war, by an almost perpetual scramble for the crown. And the crimes and contests of one prince, have scarcely obtained it, before the successive contests of another, have snatched it from his head. To procure this toy for a few childish blockheads, what torrents of blood have been shed, and what misery brought on the world!! Many examples might be found in which a great part of a nation have been slaughtered, and the residue robbed of the comforts of life merely to confer this gewgaw, on some particular man in preference to another. And thus, besides the anarchy into which subjects are often forced by the cruelty of their princes, they must be harrassed by the numberless disputes, which arise from their claims and alliances. Their disputes are as numberless, as the claims about which they originate. And such claims, though they may admit of some transient cessations of hostility, by being extinguished, relinquished, or dormant, may be renewed, resumed, or awakened, at any time as long as titles exist. Besides, as the families who possess titles, branch out, opposite claims to these titles generally multiply; until, in some kingdoms, we behold divisions and subdivisions contending with equal rancour and animosity, for that, to which no one can have the least shadow of right.

Not merely the title of king or emperor, but any hereditary title, or any of the titles of the nobility, or established clergy, may become the bone of contention. And hence, principalities, dukedoms, and even lordships, have often exhibited feuds and dissentions, not so extensive or general, perhaps, but, probably, no less calamitous to the districts in which they prevailed. But,

as these miniatures of national misery, or the titles from which they arose, originated from monarchy; to monarchy the whole of these calamities are attributable.

Any power which is not conferred by the people, or their agents, may become the cause of contention. But, where all powers and authorities depend on the will of a majority of the nation, elections must give, or take away, these powers and authorities, and there, there is no temptation to dissention: there, there is nothing left to be decided, or obtained by the sword. Hence, by removing or obviating hereditary titles, and all the establishments which depend on them, the most fruitful source of human calamities, would be obviated or removed.

In a former note, I have mentioned two species of anarchy: first, Undisturbed, peaceable, or tranquil anarchy; which is the mere absence or privation of government, unattended with civil war: And secondly, Disturbed, or tumultuous anarchy, or anarchy attended with broils and contentions. There is properly but one kind of anarchy: but as civil war, or a union of anarchy and civil war, is commonly called anarchy, I have divided anarchy into tranquil and tumultuous. The latter kind is in every instance, either the immediate or romote effect of royalty or arbitrary power. And it is not certain that there ever was an instance of any kind of anarchy, which was not produced by the same cause. Where has any instance occurred in a domocracy? The Roman republic was not a democracy: for it contained hereditary titles, or families possessed of exclusive privileges. And the Roman dissentions were the effects, partly of this, and other corruptions, which remained

after the abolition of royalty; and partly of the depravity introduced, by two great an intercourse with cotemporary monarchies. I have not been able to find an instance even of any kind of anarchy, in any free state: and I am confident, that the tumultuous kind, never was produced by democracy, nor in any democratical state, which had not been, in some way, corrupted by royalty.

The form of a democracy may be changed, altered, or abolished, without causing any absence, interim, or want of government. And where one system of democracy is abolished, and another substituted, without producing, even the first kind of anarchy; there is no danger of the second. Common sense would teach every free people, who wish to abolish one constitution in order to substitute another, to leave the old constitution in force, until a new one was provided; and until the old was superseded by the new. This may be done without any difficulty; and in every instance with which I am acquainted, it has been done. Several instances have occurred in the United States. The old constitution of Pennsylvania was abolished; and the present one established in its stead. This change of system did not produce the first kind of anarchy; and therefore, it could not possibly produce the second. The constitution of the United States has been altered several times with equal tranquility. And, notwithstanding, that these alterations were the work of many different states, which are in many respects sovereign and independent, and of people who have descended or migrated from a great many different nations; yet they were effected with the greatest safety, harmony, and facility. If democracy *could* produce anarchy, we should suppose that it would

have produced it here; where the nation is composed of so many discordant materials and prejudices. But if any reason could induce a free people to abolish one political system, before they had formed another; or if any cause could occasion a temporary cessation of government in a democratical state, what would be the consequence? The people in general, unless they had been rendered ignorant or corrupt by a former monarchical government; and were labouring under its filthy remains and prejudices; or were infected by the coexistent royalty of other nations; would not countenance crimes; but would agree, for their common safety, to suppress them. The moral state of a whole nation cannot be very suddenly changed; and if a nation were free and enlightened, the same moral principles, which, as already observed, made them detest criminals, before the dissolution of government, would make them detest them afterwards. And as no titles could exist among them to create an imaginary interest in dissention, they would have no motive to contend; and as rational beings, they would consult their own safety, and peaceably form a new constitution.

Therefore, if a people could be foolish enough to vacate one system of democracy, before they had prepared another, the anarchy which would take place, would be peaceable, and would not produce much inconvenience; unless they were corrupted or instigated by former or foreign monarchies; and if they were, the evils which would ensue, would not be the effect of democracy, but of monarchy: for if this was not in the world, the evil could not exist.

Thus it must appear, that anarchy alone is not so great an evil, as people are taught to imagine: but if contem-

tion or civil war be anarchy, (and I have called it by that name, because it is often called so,) then anarchy in one sense, is a monstrous evil. But I again confidently repeat, that there never was an instance of this tumultuous anarchy, since the first formation of government, which did not originate from the spirit of monarchy; and this position may be defended, as well by reason as history.

When a good government is broken and dissolved, it is evident that it is that spirit, which raises itself on its ruins, which is the cause of its dissolution: And when a bad government is abolished, the people are generally impelled to destroy it, by the most intolerable oppression.

This was the case, when the English and French monarchies were destroyed, in the reigns of Charles the I. of England, and Lewis XVI. of France. The people of England and France, were driven to desperation: they could bear their burthens no longer; and must either have thrown them off, or sunk under them. They wisely chose the former; but have been unjustly censured by the corrupt and ignorant for their choice.

The French republic has, by some writers, been called anarchy: but I think it cannot, very properly, be called by that name. For the moment that despotism was removed, a provisional government was established in its stead. Dissentions were transient, or confined to small districts: justice was regularly administered in ordinary cases; and common felonies, punished as they deserved. Some great attrocities were committed under the cloak of authority: but a government was not only existing; but possessed of more power, than it could justly exercise. However by whatever

name it may be called, the French revolution was produced by the evils of monarchy. And, although its calamities are forever to be deplored; yet, with all its horrors, it was not half so dreadful, as the despotism which preceded it. For the support of this position, I may safely appeal to a comparison of the events of the one, with those of the other. But the reader is not to suppose, that he is to compare the authentic history of anteriour events, with the exaggerated accounts, which were published, in the time of the French republic. Those misrepresentations were written for the purpose of deluding mankind: and yet, false and extravagant as they are, my position can be defended, if they be admitted to be true: for the utmost stretch of the imagination, cannot represent more horrid events, than have actually taken place in monarchies. As to those which were experienced under the monarchy of France, my room will not admit of a detail. But I will observe, that the numbers which were destroyed, the enormities which were committed and the devastation which was made, in the anarchies which were excited by the French princes before the revolution, far exceeded any thing which occurred after the abolition of royalty. In the civil wars between the factions of Orleans and Burgundy; as well as in several instances before and since that period, the whole face of the country was one continued scene of waste and destruction: and nothing was to be heard of, but crimes, treacheries, murders, and executions. But, to say nothing of that terrible anarchy, which was fomented in France, by the differences between her princes or nobles, the common miseries which were felt under the French monarchy, were *more insufferable* than the sanguinary reign of Rober-

spiere itself. By the orders of a French king, thousands of innocent people, without a trial, and without a hearing, have been executed at one time. It was customary for the monarchs of France, on the slightest accusation, to send their orders to seize and drag their subjects from their families and friends, to be immured in the bastile; and there, either to be buried for life; or placed in the hands of wretches, who had neither feeling nor remorse, with orders to put them to the torture to extort accusations against others, or confessions of their own guilt; and, finally, to break them on the wheel, or put them to death in some other way, with all possible inhumnity. In this manner, the subjects of France, however innocent, were daily dragged to the dungeons of the bastile; and there, beyond the reach of of friends, or public scrutiny, delivered up to be made the secret sport of their enraged enemies. When this horrible prison was destroyed by the people, at the commencement of the revolution, they found the most frightful engines which could possibly be imagined. These engines were used for inflicting the severest torments on such persons, as the suspicion or inhumanity of a despot, had marked for the slaughter.

The people of France, about the time of the revolution, were so much depauperated by taxes or extortions, that they were actually starving to death. So great, indeed were their poverty and distress, that if a horse happened to be killed in a tumult, he was immediately roasted and devoured by the hungry multitude. But such a state of want and misery is no more than what must be expected from a government like

theirs. The nobility and clergy who possessed all the land, and nearly all the property in the kingdom, were entirely exempted from taxes: while they who were the most useful, and the least able to pay them, were subject to all the expenses of the nation, and of a wanton and prodigal court. Besides these oppressions, the people were deprived of the liberty of conscience; and put to death for entertaining different religious opinions. But in the time of the republic, even in the reign of Robersphiere, men were not butchered in secret places: whatever was done, was done publicly. The citizen was not doomed, by the nod of an individual, to die without a trial or a hearing. He was not racked or tortured, before he was proved to be guilty: Nay, he was not tortured at all. He was not robbed by exorbitant taxes, until he was starved to death. He was not burned for believing or disbelieving in religious creeds: nor compelled to support, by hardship, a clergy whom he detested. In short, he was not subject to a variety of hardships and oppressions, to which he was subject before.

Thus, choose what criterion you please, to determine, whether the condition of the French people, was better, or worse, after the abolition of royalty, than it had been before; and you will be convinced that their condition generally, and in every respect, was infinitely better after that event, that it ever had been under the old monarchy. If you judge by the taxes, petty oppressions, religious liberty, diet and dress, waste of property, number of executions, or the manner of them: the amount of taxes was much smaller; petty oppressions much fewer; religious liberty much greater; destruction of property much less; diet and dress much

better; the number of executions much smaller; and the manner of them infinitely less severe, than they had been before.

In the time of the republic, if a man was sentenced to die, he was beheaded by a single stroke of the Gullotine. But those diabolical tortures, which are so common in monarchy, were not employed, by the republic, in a single instance. Let no one say, that these are mere assertions, unsupported by proof. Whoever will take the trouble of examining the proper records, will find, that they have already been proved, by the most credible testimony. But, so far from being able to transcribe such a mass of evidence, I have not even room to particularize a variety of oppressions, which were removed by the abolition of despotism.

Monarchy, by its arts and cruelties, had, first, reduced the french people to a state of barbarism; and then forced them by its insupportable tyranny, ignorant as they were to break loose from the chains with which they were bound. If they would have committed the same outrages, had they not been perplexed by foreign foes, nor influenced by secret enemies; still, those outrages would have been the effect of their ignorance, and depravity: and their ignorance and depravity, was the effect of royalty: therefore, royalty was the cause. But I contend that it was, more immediately, the cause, of the calamities of the French Republic. The Bastile was taken on the fourteenth of July 1789. On the fourteenth of the same month, in 1790, the king and the whole nation took an oath to support the new constitution; and swore to live free or die. The revolution had been conducted with so much coolness and moderation, that the king, from the capture of the

Bastile until the day on which he attempted to escape from France, had never been restrained of his liberty; nor had the least injury been offered to his person. And then he was merely arrested, and sent back, to prevent his escape to the enemy. Long before this, the king's two brothers, and many of the nobility, had fled to foreign courts; and, agreeably to the custom of princes, had set themselves at work, to excite war against their own country, in order to assist the French king to oppress the people. Yet this king, although he had endeavoured to escape to the enemies of his country, was, nevertheless, left at liberty to exercise the authority, which had been vested in him, by the new constitution. And from the capture of the Bastile, on the fourteenth of July 1789, to the second of September 1792, nearly five months after the emperor of Germany, and king of Prussia had determined to re-establish despotism in France, no act had been done by the people, which could be justly complained of: and the nation enjoyed more internal harmony, than had been usually enjoyed before.

Thus, for the space of more than three years after the commencement of the revolution, the government had met with no interruption; and no act of violence had been committed; except at the siege of the Bastile, or attack of the Swiss guards. And the former, was owing to the treachery and inhumanity of the minions of the court; and the latter, to the treachery of the court itself. The swiss guards had been retained, in violation of those political institutions, which the king had sworn to support. They were undoubtedly intended to act against the constitution and the people, on the first opportunity and, as all other means had failed, force became necessary to remove them.

If we review the time, and the events, which intervened between the fourteenth of July 1789, and the hostilities between the French and Austrians; and consider the vast population of France; the malignity of the royalists; and the important change which was made; we shall be astonished, that in all that period more lives were not lost; and more outrages committed.

The king of Prussia, on the 26, of July 1792, proclaimed his reasons for intermeddling in the affairs of France, and for declaring war against her. Among the rest, he expressly avowed the intention, (as the emperor of Germany had done before,) of destroying the liberty of the French people; lest other countries should follow their example. The impudence or indecency of these monarchs, could scarcely be surpassed, but it was nearly equalled by that of their general. For about the same time, the duke of Brunswick, general of the combined armies of Austria and Prussia, issued a manifesto to the Freneh, in which he already considered them as a conquered nation; and not only gave them directions, as if he had a legal right to exercise a supreme authority over them, but declared, that if the least outrage should be offered to the king, or any of the royal family, the city of Paris should be delivered up to military execution: thus stupidly and infamously declaring, in the face of the world, that in case one man assaulted another, (for any one man, without the concurrence of others, might have assaulted the king,) I say, thus infamously declaring to the whole world, that in case one man assaulted another, one million of men, women, and children, for no offence whatever, should be given up to be *butchered* in cold blood, by his brutal and enraged soldiery. When such scoundrels or demons as Bruns-

wick, wished to rule France; what man could blame them for resistance, or for the punishment which they inflicted on the traitors who assisted such enemies.

Hitherto, no violence had been offered to the king, nor to the royalists; and if they afterwards suffered, their own treachery and villany was the cause of it. The people of France, by excusing the king when he endeavoured to escape, and by using the power which they had acquired, with moderation and lenity, manifested for three years successively, an uncommon degree of forbearance. But the royalists were incorrigible. And it is not in the least surprising, that a people, who had been long and cruelly oppressed, should be fired with indignation by the perfidy of their former oppressors; especially, when they found, that so far from being reclaimed by pardon, or grateful for the indulgence they had received, they had assisted in forming a formidable coalition against them abroad: were busy in making divisions at home; and were continually carrying on a traiterous correspondence with the enemies of their country.

Therefore, in taking a general review of the French republic, from its origin to the commencement of hostilities, and, indeed, to the time which was called the reign of terrour, we meet with nothing very enormous; but, rather, much less violence than might naturally have been expected from so great a reformation.

If the inception of this great reform, which we should abstractedly suppose most subject to collisions, was remarkably free from them; what, then, was the reason of the atrocities which were afterwards committed? The answer *is obvious*: monarchy was the efficient

cause of all the troubles and executions which ensued. The people, and public functionaries of France, had not had a sufficient time to acquire a facility in discharging their duties; nor even to become acquainted with the laws. Nay, the government itself was not completely formed and matured, when a combination of monarchs directed the whole power of the surrounding nations against them. This tremendous confederacy forced the attention of the people from the organization and completion of their infant government, to defend their country from the ravages of a barbarous and destructive invasion. And not only so, but while it forced the people to leave their government in an imperfect state, in order to guard against these gothic inroads of external enemies, emissaries, and internal enemies, by their intrigues and macinations, raised into power the vilest incendiaries in the nation. And as the people were thus distracted by foreign and domestic foes, those vipers who crept in disguise into office, found a fit opportunity to perpetrate the attrocities, with which the republic was unjustly stigmatized. We must remember as we proceed, that scarcely any act which was reprehensible, had taken place in the republic, before the declaration of war. It is also to be remembered, that previous to the bloody scenes, in which Roberspiere was the principal agent, the combined armies were entirely defeated and dispersed, by the invincible troops of the republic. The success of the French arms, and the sudden, but subsequent appearance of faction and wickedness in France, clearly ascertain the fact, that the combined monarchs had re-doubled their exertions to effect, by bribery, intrigue, and secret instigation to murder what they were unable to accomplish by the open violence of

war. Seeing their armies defeated and dispersed, and despairing of success, while the French were united under the patriots which the republic had called into action, instead of employing their funds to recruit their armies they sent them to the secret royalists of France, to enable them, by vast sums of wealth, to bribe or corrupt all who were corruptible; and by false accusations, the ascendency of disguised royalists, and misguided factions, to bring the principal patriots to the scaffold. They supposed that the people, when deprived of their best men, might be easily induced to raise the worst; and, if not frightened by so many executions from republicanism, that they would, at least, when deprived of their leaders, divide into factions, and be incapable of the administration of government: and that, thereby, an easy road would be opened to conquest, or the restoration of monarchy.

There can be no doubt, that, that great conspiracy of princes against the felicity of mankind, formed a secret scheme for destroying every man in France, whose wisdom or goodness was an obstacle in the way of their ambition. And there can be as little doubt, that the bloody scene in which Roberspiere was the principal puppet, was merely the practical commencement of that diabolical scheme. In promoting weak or corrupt men, or men of monarchal principles to office, they naturally expected, by such assistants, and by the terror and division of the people, to open a secure passage for the extension of their dominions, or the re-establishment of despotism. And, though the event has not fully answered their expectations, it may be nearly as fatal to the happiness of France.

Every man must admit, that the collective wealth of Europe, when secretly employed in France, would be a most powerful expedient : and no one who is acquainted with the nature of princes can suppose, that any moral principle could prevent them from employing it. As I have already shewn, they harbour a perpetual hatred against all just men. And they know that the inflexible friends of democracy, must be just : for democracy is a government which secures the rights of all, and therefore he who labours to support democracy, labours to insure justice to all, and cannot be unjust to any one; because the whole includes every part. Consequently, as he who honestly supports democracy, endeavours to secure the rights of all and of every one; he is, therefore, a Philanthropist, and a just man.

This opinion of the combined princes, with respect to their hatred of virtue, is not built on any doubtful position : their own declarations and conduct; the practices of princes generally; and particularly in a similar case, sufficiently verify it.

The practices of Charles II. of England, and his associates, seem to have been thought an example worthy of of imitation. In both cases, emissaries, money, promises, divisions, and executions, were the means: and the principal difference, in the two cases, was, that in the one, money was more scarce, the population less, and access more difficult; and therefore the destruction was not so great, at least, not until after the restoration. The manner, however, in which the patriots were executed in England, by the order of Charles II. was infinitely more shocking than the mode of execution in France, in the reign of Roberspiere. Besides, the virtuous men who had been concerned for their country, were pursu-

ed by Charles and his adherents with relentless malignity, after the latter were securely reestablished in power; and when they could have had no motive for their conduct, but that which actuates the fallen spirit.

As to Robespiere and his co-adjutors they were undoubtedly bribed: for it was evidently their intention to bring republicanism into disrepute, by perpetrating crimes in its name. They destroyed men, whose humility rendered them incapable of giving any just cause of fear or offence. And it appears from the number and increase of the iraccusations, that they intended to cut off every man, in France, who was distinguished for his abilities and patriotism: and, although they were arrested in their career, the effect and infamy of their crimes, must be remembered, with sorrow. When ever they feared a man's influence, he was immediately accused; and the moment he was accused, a thousand corrupted tongues reiterated the charge. The people, rendered ignorant by despotism, and thus deceived by the vociferation, and counterfeit zeal of a number of accusers, saw their best men led, successively, to the scaffold. But, as the masked enemies who deceived them were but subordinate agents, the principal guilt of these atrocities, must rest on royalty at last. Indeed, if we admit that, that inexpressibly infamous thing, none by the name of Robespiere, was not influenced like monk, still, my proposition is true. For whether he were prompted by others or not, it is evident, from the atrocity of his crimes, that he had the spirit of monarchy within himself: and, if he were not the mere puppet of the monarchal conspiracy, he intended to remove good men out of the way, that he might, with more facility, secure the power, *which the conspiracy* of monarchs had alone, enabled

him to obtain. Therefore I conclude, that if the French republic had not been influenced, both internally and externally, by circumjacent monarchies, her disorders would have been avoided; and her liberty, established on a permanent foundation. But the ignorant people seeing offences committed, and not knowing the cause were unable to apply a remedy. While the loss of their ablest statesment; and the prejudice inspired by executions; together with the popularity of their generals; and the terror of their armies; completed the deplorable subversion of the republic. But it is self evident, that the liberty of the French could not have been endangered, either by generals or armies, if the hostility of pragmatical and rapacious monarchs, had not compelled them to raise armies for their own defence.

Roberspiere was either a monarch, or the agent of monarchs; and, if the crimes which he committed are to be deplored, how much more is monarchy to be deprecated, where the reign of such men is perpetual, and where such enormities never cease. I would risk my eternal salvation, on the truth of the assertion, that the reign of Roberspiere itself, stormy and tempestuous as it was, was more tolerable than the old monarchy; and that the condition of the people generally was vastly better than it had been under the despotism of Lewis XVI. or his more tyrannical predecessors. But, however, whatever may be the opinions of men respecting the comparative calamities of those times, Roberspiere possessed the power of a king; and that power, monarchy enabled him to obtain; and therefore, on monarchs alone *this* load of guilt must rest.

The atrocities which occasioned the loss of democratical institutions in France, must be eternally regretted

by the philanthropist; but still, however, it may, finally and justly, be observed, that those institutions, though they were destroyed by princely wickedness, have left some good effects, lingering behind them, which considerably ameliorate the social state of that nation; and which will probably accelerate the political reformation of Europe.

NOTE 99. Alexander I, king of the Jews, by his intolerable cruelty and oppression, forced his subjects to rise, in arms to oppose him. A bloody and destructive civil war ensued. But, after a number of encounters, having conquered the enemies of his injustice, he caused eight hundred of the principal patriots to be crucified, at one time; while he and his prostitutes were seated on an eminence, to be entertained by that barbarous and infernal scene.

NOTE 100. The Jews had been so long harassed by their kings; and the wars which they created, that a general depravity spread through all ranks of people: and bands of robbers, under their respective leaders or kings, traversed the country, committing all sorts of crimes and enormities. The kingdom continued in this state, until Jerusalem was beseiged by the Romans under Titus. And, during that siege, every thing that was cruel and horred, was committed, both by the besieged and the besiegers.

Just before the siege, a vast concourse of people from all parts of the country, had arrived in that city, to celebrate the anniversary of the Passover. These unfortunate people, were cooped up together with the citizens, and inhumanly detained to starve for want of sustinance. Although thousands of them were daily starving to death *yet, neither* the factions who defended the walls, nor the

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Romans who surrounded them, would permit them to depart. If they escaped from the one, they fell into the hands of the other. And this, to use a common adage, was like, " leaping out of the frying-pan, into the fire ;" or running into Charybdis, to avoid Scylla. For the feeble wretches who crawled out, at night, to hunt for roots and grass, to prolong a miserable existence, were ordered by that beast called Titus, to be seized and inhumanly crucified. Yet we are impudently told, that Titus was a prince of great clemency. But when princes who could commit such outrages on humanity, are termed merciful, what must those be who are denominated cruel ? when so many encomiums are passed on such monsters as Titus, we may judge what confidence is due to those, who have delineated the most favourable characters of princes.

NOTE 101. We are told that the Jews were so much distressed with hunger, during the siege of Jerusalem, that they killed and devoured each other. One instance, in particular, is mentioned, of a mother, who killed and devoured her own child.

NOTE 102. As I have already observed, there can be but two moral principles in the world; and these are the principles of good and evil, or, of virtue and vice. These principles devide mankind into two species : one species are more or less, actively virtuous; and the other, more or less actively vicious. One has a propensity to do good, and the other, to do evil. No consideration could induce the first class, knowingly and voluntarily, to support monarchy ; but all the latter class, with sufficient inducements, would give it their support. And *of this* class, it may more particularly be observed, that *they* who are extremely vicious are monarchists from

the love of mischief; and others who are less prone to vice, may be drawn in to their support, by motives of interest or selfishness; because they partake of the same nature: but in proportion as the propensity to evil is diminished, the inducement which draws them must be increased. But they who are actuated by the good principle, never support monarchy, nor any measure which tends to it; unless they are terrified or deceived. From these observations, it must appear, that the good prineiple, is the principle or spirit of *democracy*; and that the evil principle, is the principle or spirit of monarchy. Let no one say, that this is a mere chimera. It is as true as, that two and two are four: and I will endeavour to make it as plain, as it is true.

It is frequently observed that every man has his enemies. Now, if this be true, both the virtuous and vicious must have enemies. But who are the enemies of the virtuous? good men would not be their enemies: therefore they must be the vicious. And the reason of this enmity is obvious: bad men endeavour to do evil; and good men endeavour to prevent it: and this produces strife and contention. Consequently wherever there is strife, there must be bad men: for, unless they first make the attempt to do evil, there can be nothing for good men to oppose; without vicious men, therefore, there can be no opposition; and, consequently, no strife. This proves that vicious men are the beginners, or the cause of strife; and that wherever the one exists, the other exists also. It likewise proves that mankind are divided into two species: and that one is actuated by the virtuous, and the other, by the vicious *principle*. But it may be asked; how does

this prove that the lovers of democracy are the class, who are actuated by the virtuous principle ; or that the lovers of monarchy are the class, who are actuated by the vicious principle ? It proves it in this way : between monarchy and democracy there is a continual strife : and as I have proved that wherever there is strife, there is vicious men, therefore, one or the other must be vicious. If one is vicious, as they are opposite to each other, the other must be virtuous : and the only remaining question is, which of them is it. I have given sufficient evidence to determine this question, in twenty different places ; but, to place it beyond dispute, I will prove it here.

I have already shewn, that bad men are the beginners of strife ; but they would not strive without an inducement ; and the only general inducements, are riches, titles and powers.

Who are they who excite wars and contentions for riches, titles, and powers ? Who are they who gain wealth and property, countries and dominions, by deception or violence ? are they not vicious men ? no one can deny it. And it is no less notorious and undeniable, that monarchs, and their adherents, excite wars and contentions for riches, titles, and power, and obtain wealth and property, countries and dominions, by deception or violence. Therefore monarchs and monarchists are vicious men ; and monarchy the evil principle.

Thus I have demonstrated, that monarchists are vicious men : and the necessary conclusion from this, is, that democrats are virtuous : for the two classes are *opposite* to each other. One affirms, what the other

denies: one endeavours to do, what the other endeavours to prevent. Therefore it is impossible that both can be right: one must be wrong and the other right. And, at the same time that we prove one to be vicious, we necessarily prove the other to be virtuous.

Having proved these propositions, by the object of monarchy, and the conduct of monarchists; I will now demonstrate them in another way, by the object of democracy, and the conduct of democrats.

In a democracy, men enjoy equal rights: that is, equal security for their persons and property; and an equal right to elect, and to be elected, into any of the offices of government. This being the object of democracy; its votaries must have the same object: and the wishes and actions of a democrat, must be in conformity with this object, or he is not a democrat. A democrat, therefore, wishes all men to enjoy equal rights. And, if he wishes all others to have the same privileges, and the same right and justice, that he has himself; is he not a just man? He certainly is; unless the man who observes the excellent rule, of doing to others as he would that others should do unto him, be unjust: but this, no one will venture to assert. Therethere democrats are actuated by the just principle, or spirit of democracy; and their opponents, the monarchists, hy the unjust principle, or spirit of monarchy.

I wish my readers to observe, that I am not imputing these attributes respectively, to all men who are called democrats; nor to all men who are called monarchists: but to those only, who really are so, whether they be called so or not. For I am not speaking of names only, but of men. You may call a man by *what name* you please; but the name which you give

him, will not alter his nature. However, it is very common, for men, to give and assume names, which are not merited, for the purposes of deception. And these false and improper connexions of names and ideas, often deceive people; and, without some explanation, might lead to a misapprehension of these arguments.

Good men, who are labouring under prejudice, deception, or terror, may, sometimes, support *monarchy* without a *good motive*; and *bad men*, when they think that it will promote their interest, may sometimes, support *democracy* with a *bad motive*. However, the intelligent can generally ascertain a man's motives, by his conduct: for some part of his conduct, will always be indicative of his principles.

The spirit of monarchy may exist in all countries, under different names and disguises; and in different spheres and situations of life. Accordingly, whenever there are wars and conflicts among men, they are caused by the spirit of monarchy: for I have demonstrated that vicious men are always the fomenters of strife; and also, that they are actuated by this spirit. Consequently, if the people of two democracies have ever declared war against each other, they must have been instigated by the spirit of despotism in disguise; or, in other words, by the depraved part of the community, assisted by the influence of adjacent kingdoms.

There is no doubt, therefore, that monarchists, or the spirit of monarchy either cloaked or avowed, may be found in all nations. And I may, now, venture to affirm, that their never was a war, either foreign or domestic, internal or external, which was not fomented by that species of men for evil purposes. Instances may be

found, where this class of men, in one state, have by a collusion with the same species of men, in another, involved their countries in war. But the methods which these enemies of mankind have pursued, to destroy the peace and harmony of society; and to involve nations in disputes, have been as various, as the circumstances and political situations of the nations, which they have involved.

Sometimes, a few citizens or officers of one state, are instigated to commit acts of hostility, on the citizens or officers of another. Then the monarchists of the other, by their vociferous declamation, and by attributing the unauthorised acts of a few, to the whole nation, spread such enthusiastic rage among their fellow citizens, that the government, at last, feels the impulse; and by the ascendency of the corrupt, is hurried into similar aggressions, on pretence of making reprisals. This breach of faith, is immediately employed by the royalists of the former state to fill the people with indignation; and to rouse them to arms against the state, which, without demanding an explanation, authorized acts of hostility.

Thus, by a secret instigation to the act or aggression which forms the original pretext; and by mutual and alternate falshoods, misrepresentations, and excitements, afterwards, nations are deceived; and filled with causeless and violent animosities; and, at last, raised to such enthusiastic madness, that every avinue of intercourse or explanation, is closed; and every overture of negociation precluded. By this kind of collusion and intrigue, monarchies may not only involve each other in hostilities; but, when favoured by circum-

stances, may extend their baneful influence to free states.

To illustrate some of the intrigues of such men more clearly, we will suppose that England and France are two republics, allied by treaties of peace and amity; but more or less corrupted, and predisposed for contention, by their intercourse with royalty. We will suppose, also, that the monarchists of England, wishing to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the nation, or to establish their darling system of oppression, enter into a secret and collusive agreement with their brethren of France; by which it is covenanted and agreed between the parties, that in consideration of the profits, arising from the trade of war, and the consequent esteblishment of monarchy, and the oppression of the people, that the monarchists of France, will procure some persons in tho service of the government of France to commit some outrage on the persons or property of some of the citizens of England; that the monarchists of England, in return, will use every exertion to deceive the people by loudly declaring, that the said outrage was done by the secret instructions of the French government; or, at least, that, that government connived at it; that it was an insult to the English; and that the honour and dignity of the nation required, that they should immediately resent it. It is also agreed, that the said royalists of England, shall apply to the king of Spain, or to some other natural enemy to republics, for a sum of money, to enable them, by every species of bribery, falsehood, and misrepresentation, to infuse prejudice and animosity into the minds of the people; and thereby, to render it dangerous for any person to speak, in favour of reconciliation with France; to

turn those persons out of office, who are averse to] war, or are, in the least, influenced by conscience; and to place such men in office, who will commit some act of hostility against the French, or make such exhorbitant demands, for the reparation of past injuries, as they know will not be granted. We will suppese that the king of Spain, influenced by a desire of suppressing democracy; and, perhaps, considering France as a dangerous neighbour, not only grants the royalists of England the money which they desire but all his influence, and the influence of his kingdom. For the royalists of Spain, actuated by the same motives, as well as influenced by the example and wish of the court; and being in the practice of sending vast quantities of merchandise into England, give long credits, and lucrative agencies, to those only, who will agree to favour the royal or hostile party; and endeavour to suppress their opponents.

By this partiality, the royalists of England are able to monopolize commerce; and to exclude every one from a share in its advantages, who will not strenuously espouse their cause. For the long credits, given by the monarchists of Spain to those of England, would enable the latter, to give long credits to retailers or shopkeepers. And, as this credit would also be confined exclusively to their partizans; its influence would extend with their merchandise, to every part of England; and temptation, like, the numerous ramifications of an infectious stream, would spread throughout the land: and nothing would be heard from the merchant, agent, or retailer, or from those who were dependent on, or influenced by them; but reproaches against France, and the friends of peace.

It is also agreed between the parties, that, while

pecuniary and commercial influence, is made subservient to the spirit of monarchy in England, the royalists of France will endeavour, by similar exertions and artifices, to excite similar prejudices, animosities, and fears in the minds of the French; and, in case of any act of hostility, or unreasonable demand of the English government, will endeavour to stimulate the people, to a retaliation of the one, or rejection of the other; and lastly, that the said monarchists of France and England, will mutually assist each other; and labour in their respective departments, until war has actually taken place betwween the two nations.

In this or a similar way, by tricks, deceptions, and villanies, nations are involved in long and sanguinary wars: and in the same manner, such prejudices are excited, that in some instances, they are never eradicated, until one nation exterminates the other.

NOTE 103. The countries which were anciently the most distinguished for civilization, are now in a state of barbarism. And if the cause of this degeneration shall be searched for, it will be found to have been royal or arbitrary government. All the ancient cities were successively destroyed by kings or tyrants: and where some of them stood, nothing but ruins, or uninhabited deserts are now to be seen. Indeed, some of them are so totally erased, that even the site where they stood is not known. The destruction of those cities is a strong evidence of thethoughtless folly and inhumanity of that species of men, who are fond of arbitrary power. Not satisfied with the slaughter of the inhabitants; the very habitations in which they lived, must become a prey to their brutal ferocity. If they were not destitute of every human feeling; if they were not dead to every honest

and honourable sentiment, we should suppose that they would spare the houses of a city, to form an asylum for the poor and unfortunate. But they are so wantonly and wickedly inimical to every one's comfort, which is not essentially connected with their own; that they seem desirous of destroying every convenience of life, which cannot be made subservient to their own pleasure. While they are destroying the cities and towns which they have depopulated, and which might form a comfortable refuge for the indigent; thousands of their wretched subjects are destitute of a dwelling to shelter them from the cold.

NOTE 104. Priestcraft has persuaded its dupes to believe, that they are liable to punishment hereafter, whether they are guilty of any offence or not: and that in order to avoid it, it is necessary to employ all their leisure time in supplications and prayer; and to give all their cash for masses and absolutions. By thus employing all the leisure and money of their hearers, priests have hept them in ignorance and poverty: and while they have held them in subjection to monarchy, have lived in indolence, and provided an ample provision for themselves.

NOTE 105. If there be no other objection against monarchy, than its frequent infliction of torture, this alone is a far greater evil than the total absence of government. Torture is an insult to reason, a disgrace to human nature, an outrage to humanity, an abomination in the sight of nations, and a curse to the world. Except the establishment of monarchy, it is the foulest offence which can be committed against God or man. And he who commits it, is the most loathsome of animals.

I have already endeavoured to shew, by facts and examples, that torture is the natural result of monarchy: but this truth appears no less evidently from general principles, than from particular facts. Every one is certainly convinced, that there are, and always will be, some persons in the world who possess compassion; and some who do not. If a man has so little understanding or humanity, that he is incapable of feeling for another, or of judging or knowing what another feels, nothing within himself can deter him from inflicting torture, for the attainment of his objects, or the punishment of those who offend. Therefore, the restrictions of law, or the influence of those who have more compassion than himself, is necessary to prevent it. But when a cruel man happens to be a king, (and I have shewn that that is generally the case,) what is to restrain his cruelty then? not the law, for he alledges that he is the source of law, and above its control: neither can it be restrained by his understanding or humanity, for he has not understanding enough to know that torture is detestable; nor humanity enough to abhor it. If any one give him an offence, the first impulse of his passion prompts him to seek revenge. Unrestrained by laws, established by the opinions and sensations of others, he measures punishment by his own judgment and feeling; or rather, by his own passions: and agreeably to that rule, an adequate punishment is no punishment at all; and even the greatest possible severity is too little to satisfy him. His courtiers soon perceive his judgment and inclination; and they are generally as ready to applaud the one, as they are officious to strengthen and gratify the other. If there *is any* person about him, who has a just idea of torture, *he is* afraid to inform him of the abhorrence with which

it is viewed by all men of wisdom or humanity; and how contrary it is to the welfare, even of himself: for the smallest intimation of the kind, instead of relieving the sufferers, would only add another to their number.

It must either be admitted that all monarchs are cruel, or that monarchy has a tendency, by giving brutes an ascendency in the realm, or by depressing good men, and exalting bad, to perpetuate the penalties of torture. For they have been used in monarchies, for a thousand years successively: and if all the kings who reigned in that time were cruel, all kings are so: and if they were not all cruel, the penalties of torture would have been intermitted, if they were not the natural effect of monarchy.

The difference between the severe, malignant, and uncharitable spirit of royalists; and the mild and benevolent spirit of democrats, may, with great certainty, be deduced from their respective penal laws. While the former, through arbitrary government, inflicts torture, on some men who are only suspected of crimes, and on others, for acts, which are so far from being criminal, that they are highly meritorious, and even conscientiously performed; the latter inflicts no torture at all even on the most hardened and wicked criminals.

The two forms of government, termed democracy and monarchy, being the emanations of two species of men, who are entirely different in their natures, the two governments are necessarily as different, as the men from whom they emanate. Democracy is therefore so far from employing the useless and brutal severities of monarchy, that it generally shews too much clemency. Instances of this may perhaps, be found, in some of the United States. By the penal laws of the state of Penn-

sylvania, no person can be punished with death, but such as are guilty of murder in the first degree. All other offences are either punishable with fine, or with imprisonment at hard labour. The imprisonment is generally short and limited. It is, proportioned to the different species of crimes by law, and to each particular case by the Court.

The penal codes of all nations, ought to shew all the lenity which is consistent with the general welfare of society: but men who are guilty of attempting to subvert a free government, or of the crime of murder, certainly ought to be put to death. And it is worthy of consideration, perhaps, whether they who are guilty of other felonies, ought not, in some cases for the second, and in other cases for the third offence, also, to be punished with death. For I am much deceived if the discharge or liberation of so many incorrigible villains, has not a tendency to corrupt society; and, in the end, to push better men out of existence. Men who commit felony in a free or democratical state, where a subsistence may be easily obtained by honest means, generally evince a depravity of heart, which can leave but little hope of amendment. Therefore, to turn such men loose upon the community, after they have been twice convicted of arson, burglary or robbery, or thrice convicted of stealing goods of a considerable value, appears to be a cruelty to the public: and to keep them in prison, for life, would be a cruelty to the prisoners. Confinement for life, is in my humble opinion, a much more severe punishment, than death itself. And yet, as it is not so awful to people generally, it would not have as strong a tendency to deter them from the commission of crimes. By such a mode of punishment, the wealthy or artful

convict, would be more likely to escape, or be discharged from confinement, than they who were less dangerous to the communitiy: for in the course of a whole life, there would be much time for bribery or intrigue. A criminal would naturally expect, that, in so long a time, some favourable occurrence would probably relieve him. And, indeed, I may venture to say, that whenever imprisonment for life, at hard labour, is declared by a free state to be the penalty of crimes, it will generally be eluded, either by rescue or escape, or by the influence of friends, money, or counterfeit penitence. However, such a penalty would leave an expectation of pardon or escape; and punishments would be deemed uncertain. Whereas, it has been justly observed, that it is not the severity, so much as the certainty of punishments, which deters men from the commission of crimes. If confinement for life, at hard labour, were in lieu of the penalty of death, there could be, in case of pardon or escape, a defect of justice; and, in case of perpetual imprisonment, an expense, in populous countries, on the public: for the labour of convicts would not pay all the expense of their support. Their confinement therefore would requre still more of the substance of that public, whom they had previously injured; and to whose charity they had forfeited all their claims.

Some have imagined that the punishment of death is prohibited by the scriptures. It is true they command us not to kill: but if this were to be construed literally and without exceptions, we should not only be prohibited from killing a human being, but even from killing a chicken. Hence, it is demonstratively certain, that this commandment must be understood with exceptions: and, as the number of these exceptions are not specified, they

must be inferred from reason. Moreover, it is manifest that it was addressed to individuals, and not to nations: for the language of the decalogue is, "Thou "shalt not kill:" Therefore, even if it were in all cases wrong for individuals to take life, it does not follow that it would be wrong for nations. The execution of a convict, for the violation of the just laws of his country, cannot be considered as the act of the instrument which performs it; but of the nation which requires it. The officer who executes the criminal, in pursuance of the law, is but the instrument which the nation employs: and consequently, as it is not his own act, it can be no crime in him: neither is it a crime in the community to whom, as it evidently appears, the sixth commandment does not extend. The truth is, the sacred scriptures are so far from interdicting the punishment of death, that they have in some cases expressly enjoined it: and it is as clearly enjoined by reason, as by the divine law. However it is time to apologize for this digression, and return to the text.

I have already proved that monarchy, wherever it is erected, is necessarily erected by injustice. And that which is erected by injustice must be supported by it: for whenever the people experience the effects of an unjust establishment, they will endeavour to remove it: and whatever prevents them must be unjust. Therefore, they who are in possession of thrones, knowing the weakness of their foundation, think it necessary to employ terror; and every other means which ingenuity or wickedness can devise, for their support. If they are cruel, torture is used for their own pleasure, as well as to secure their power: but if they are weak only, they think

it necessary to use it, merely for the perpetuation or security of illegal power.

One circumstance, among many others, which shews the horrible nature of monarchy, is, that if a wicked monarch is killed by any of his subjects, his successor, though he secretly rejoices at the homicide, and knows that it is an act which all the nation approve, and which he himself with a suitable opportunity would have committed for the sake of power, thinks it politic to torture, and put to an ignominious death, the brave man who committed it: lest, through such an example of impunity, he should draw a similar punishment on his own head, for the perpetration of similar atrocities. But what must we think of that species of government, which makes men afraid to destroy an individual, who is every day, committing the most horrid outrages on his fellow creatures?

When the emperor Caligula was killed by Cassius Cherea, the act was applauded by mankind in general: because, if Caligula had possessed a thousand lives, he would have forfeited them all by his crimes. For he was guilty of every species of atrocity; and so extremely vicious, that it was justly remarked by Seneca, that "nature shewed in him, the utmost of her power, in the "way of evil." But although Cassius deserved immortal honour for destroying such a monster, he was cruelly put to death by Caligula's successor. It was probably owing to this, and some other examples, that Nero was tolerated so long; and was at last, when he roved the streets, alone, after every one had deserted him; and every door was shut against him, unable to find any one to slay him.

It is supposed, that when mankind discover from former examples, that it is the constant policy of monarchs, to destroy every man who was in any way instrumental in the death of their predecessors; but few will be bold enough to attack them. And indeed if every one has reason to think, that whoever destroys a tyrant will be cruelly tortured by some tyrannical successor; who will undertake to relieve a nation from oppression? and if all men are afraid to undertake it, what will be the consequence, when a throne is occupied, as it generally is, by a man without shame or feeling? Mankind will become as timorous as beasts in a sty; and like them, tamely submit to see millions of their own species butchered, one after another, or perhaps, thousands at time, without a single exertion of their physical powers for their defence.

There can certainly be nothing more hateful and horrible in existence, than that system, which reduces mankind to the strange and terrible condition, in which one man is enabled to prey upon all the rest; and in which every one is afraid to destroy a felon, whom every one detests; whom every one knows to be guilty; whom every one wishes to see slain; and who is, every day, committing the most horrid outrages and murders on his fellow creatures: and not only on a few, but on myriads: not simply by destroying them, but by the mode in which they are destroyed. For the manner in which men are put to death in monarchies, is infinitely worse, and infinitely more deplorable, than the death itself. We must all die in a short time; and the act which brings us to an *easy* death, a few days, before the time appointed by nature, although it is certainly an heinous offence, is

surely not near so enormous, as the act or acts, which compel us to die a million of deaths instead of one. For he who is tortured by every means which ingenuity can invent, probably suffers as much pain, as he would have suffered if he could have died a million of deaths, by being shot through the brains, and revived a million of times.

As I observed before, we must all die sometime: But if it was not through monarchy, we should not have all our bones broken on wheels; and be left, whole weeks, to perish by degrees: we should not have all our joints dislocated, by racks and screws: we should not be boiled nor roasted to death by inches: we should not have both our hands tied behind us, and drawn up by pullies, until our arms were torn out of their sockets; and be, in that posture, scourged to death: we should not be impaled alive; nor hung by the ribs on great iron hooks; and left in that condition to die: we should not be dissected alive; nor torn in pieces by red hot pincers: we should not have our tongues and eyes torn out; nor be burned or mangled in parts still more sensible: we should not be sawed in pieces, nor incarcerated in the eternal night of a dungeon: in short, we should not be tormented by every pang of which the human system is susceptible, if we were not subject to monarchs.

Thus, in reviewing the events of the world we are frequently lead to the conclusion, that cruelty, and consequently whatever tends to produce it, are the greatest enemies to life, in every shape and condition, in which it appears in this earthly abode. For pain is the evil, and exemption from it, the *good, of this world.* Therefore they who endeavour to

increase pain, are evil; and they who endeavou
minish it, are good. The former are fools, t
they are too ignorant to know, that they are su
the ills, which they strive to increase; and the la
wise men, because they endeavour to dimini
miseries of the world, in which they exist.

If one man was afraid of another who was vicio
if the world was too narrow to afford sustenance f
it would not be so irrational, for one, to put the
death. But even then, what advantage could
rive from putting him to death by torture? H
condition would be no better, than if he had cau
to die, by the least efficient severity. If it be sai
gratifies his revenge, that gratification is a proof
moral deformity in himself: for no man who
depraved, would be gratified by the injury of a
unless it were necessary for some good purpose
if a man puts another to death for revenge me
shows that he is the man who ought to die, in
the one whom he destroys. When a vicious m
one who is not vicious revengefully the proba
that he who is killed would have enjoyed life if
been permitted to live; and that he who kills h
a system, which is incapable of enjoyment, and
would be an act of charity, to destroy. Therefor
vicious who are *not* susceptible of happiness t
some physical or moral deformity, be permitted
troy the righteous who *are* susceptible of it, al
ness would be destroyed.

From the whole, it is inferible, that torture
monarchical government which produces it, is ir
worse than no government: nay, I would rathe
continual tumult and confusion, than be subject
torments. If a man must die by violence, it is

a less evil to die in battle, than on the rack. And the numbers which have been put to death by torture, either for actions which were highly laudable, or for the various offences which oppression forced them to commit, vastly exceed the numbers who have died, by any other violence than that which has proceeded from monarchy.

Although I should feel the utmost degree of indignation, against a cruel and oppressive tyrant, and should think that he deserved as much punishment as any man could deserve ; yet, if I had him in my power, and should find it necessary to put him to death, I would not torture him, nor inflict on him, the least degree of unnecessary severity ; but would send him to be judged by him, whose judgment is infallible, and whose decrees are inevitable and just. For as all criminals are to be judged and punished, by him who knows more than man, it must be a diabolical presumption, to impose more punishment than is requisite, to prevent the criminal from repeating his crimes.

NOTE 106. No man can believe that monarchical government will produce, such horrific monsters as it has actually produced, unless he has read history or biography ; or is intimately acquainted with moral and physical causes, or with human nature.

NOTE 107. The word, form, is frequently used in the text, instead of form of government, or constitution.

NOTE 108. A constitution may, more particularly be defined to be, a written form or system of government which is enacted or established by a majority of all the male inhabitants, who have come to the age of discretion or maturity ; and which prescribes and limits the powers and offices of government ; and declares,

that the people alone have the right to alter, amend, or abolish the same, whenever they shall think proper. The difference between a constitution, and a statute law, is, that a constitution is a supreme law, which can be enacted or repealed by the people only: but a statute law may be enacted or repealed, by their agents or representatives. One is the immediate or direct, and the other, the indirect act of the people: for, in one case, they employ their own hands, and, in the other, they employ instruments: that is, in the creation of a constitution they act by themselves: but, in the creation of a statute law, they act by their servants. And the same distinction exists whether a convention be employed to devise the form of the constitution or not: for a constitution does not derive its authority from the convention that planned it but from the people; and therefore, it can have no force nor effect, until it is ratified or confirmed by them; or by a majority of all the male part of the community, who have arrived at the age of discretion. But a statute law derives its authority from the constitutional and legislative act of their agents or representatives; and operates, from the time specified in the law, until a certain time therein mentioned; or until the people by the same, or other legislators, shall think proper to repeal it.

As the creature can have no right to alter the decrees of the creator, therefore, the constitution is paramount to the statute laws, or acts of the legislature. And if there is a contradiction between them, all executive and judicial officers, are bound to observe or inforce the constitution, without any regard to an unconstitutional law: for all the officers of government are sworn to support the constitution, until it shall cease to be a con-

stitution, by being repealed or abolished by the people. Indeed, if they were not under the obligations of an oath, they would be bound by the duty of good citizens, to enforce any constitution which the people had established, as long as it existed; any act of the legislature to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding. Therefore, not only the nature of the constitution itself, but the oath which is taken to support it, proves that it is the duty of executive and judicial, as well as of legislative officers, to observe it, and to prefer it to all other laws. If this were not the case, the imposition of this oath, and an unconstitutional law, would involve them in the guilt of perjury. And it would be absurd to require an oath to support the constitution, if they could at any time, be compelled by an act of the legislature to violate it.

But a constitution, can be a constitution no longer than it exists; and it can exist no longer than until it is abolished, by the same power by which it was created. A constitution, therefore, being an existent form of government, the moment it is revoked, it is not the constitution; but that which the people substitute in its stead is the constitution. Consequently, an oath to support a constitution, does not obligate those who take it, to enforce any form of government after it is revoked; nor to endeavour to prevent the people from altering or revoking it; but only to endeavour to prevent them from violating it, while it remains in force, or before its revocation.

The oath requires the officer who takes it, to support the constitution: and the constitution declares, that the people have the right to alter or abolish it when ever they please. Therefore, unless they support this right of the people, by observing any constitution,

which the people substitute or establish, they violate both the constitution, and the oaths which they have taken: for the clause which secures this right to the people, is a part of the constitution which they have sworn to support. This oath, therefore, enjoins the officers of government to enforce the constitution, in opposition to all unconstitutional laws; and to endeavour to prevent the infringement of it, as long as it exists; but does not, in the least abridge or destroy any man's right of endeavouring to effect an amendment of it, whenever it shall be necessary for the public good. However, every executive and judicial officer, who refuses to obey a law which he believes to be unconstitutional, although it is undubitably his most sacred duty, to do so while he entertains that belief, is nevertheless, responsible to the proper authority for the correctness of his determination. But if his opinion be just, he has no reason to fear the result. In a season of error he may, perhaps, be tried and displaced: but, if truth is in his favour he will finally and gloriously triumph over his adversaries.

A contrary doctrine would make the legislature paramount to the constitution: nay, it would render the latter completely ineffective and useless; because if it is not to restrain the will of the legislature, its will would be unlimited and absolute. But if the officers whose duty it is to execute the laws, refuse to execute such as are not constitutional, the legislature will not have it in their power to do much mischief; for they may pass unconstitutional laws forever, and they will have no effect. This construction of the constitution, is, therefore, that true construction, which would place the constitution on the most permanent foundation. It would

place it beyond the reach of any oppressive or effectual violation; for it is not probable that the officers of every department of government, will ever concur in so infamous an attempt; and unless they should no such violation, except by military force, can ever occur. A democratic system of goverment is usually divided into three departments, called the legislative, judicial, and executive branches. The legislature make the laws; the judicature enter judgments on them, against individuals; and the executive executes or enforces these judgments. Now, agreeably to the above construction, unless all these branches consent to violate the constitution, the violation of it could not opperate on the people. The immense utility, therefore, of confining every officer to the strict observance or enforcement of the constitution, must be evident from this view of the subject. And I hope, that an opinion so absurd and pernicious, as that the legislature are the only judges of the constitutionality of the laws will never prevail among freemen.

The department or tribunal, in which the constitution has vested the power of trying impeachments, for misdemeanors in office, may remove an officer for refusing to execute a law, which is declared to be unconstitutional by the one, and not so by the other; but the members of this tribunal are responsible to the people: and, if their decisions are unjust, or if they remove an officer for refusing to execute an unconstitutional law, they will be removed in their turn, from the seats which they are not unworthy to fill; and the faithful officer whom they unjustly condemn, a higher tribunal will justly acquit, and reinstal in the office, which he had lost. So that all the officers of government, in the first instance, and the people in the last, are the proper judges

of the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws: that is, in all these questions, every public servant or officer when he is required to act, has an original jurisdiction, from which there is an appeal to the court of impeachment, and from that court, to the great and most venerable tribunal of an enlightened people. Hence, the people have the highest appellate jurisdiction: and no other mode of interpretation, considering the frailty of human nature, can secure the constitution from infraction; or render the decisions of constitutional questions, uniform and correct.

Legislators like all other officers of government, are the servants of the people; and derive all their powers from them. And when they exceed the powers vested in them by the constitution, their acts are null and void; and cannot properly be called laws; for those who make them, have no authority to do it. A legislator can have, nor shew, no authority, but that which the constitution has given him. That fixes the limits of legislative power; and when he goes beyond these limits, he is out of power and acts like a private man, without any delegated authority. No man who values the reputation of veracity would venture to assert, that a legislator has any more authority to make an unconstitutional law than any other person. A private citizen might draw a bill in the form of a legislative act, and call it a law; so a legislator may do the same, when he goes beyond the powers which were granted to him by the people; but the law which he makes out of the pale of the constitution, and the law made by a private man, are, to all the intents and purposes of law, precisely alike: for they are both made without authority: and therefore one can

have no more validity than the other; and no man is bound to obey them.

NOTE 109. See the accounts of the massacre of the protestants of France, in the reign of Charles IX. This massacre was perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's night, in the year 1572. The history of that dreadful night, is so generally known, that it may seem scarcely necessary to mention it. But for the information of such of my readers as are not acquainted with it, it may not be improper to give some account of it. In the reign of Charles IX. king of France, the king, clergy, and principal nobility, formed the diabolical resolution, of murdering all the protestants of France. And in pursuance of this royal, clerical, and patrician determination, it was deliberately agreed between the parties, that the principal protistants should be invited to Paris, under the pretence of celebrating the nuptials of the French king's sister, with the protestant king of Navarre; and that when they arrived, the monarchical and hierarchical scheme should be executed, agreeably to the arrangements to be previously made by the clergy. Accordingly the clergy took such steps as they thought necessary, to prepare a sufficient number of their hearers, to assist in the execution of this scheme; and agreed that the royal, lordly, and priestly labour, should begin on the night of St. Bartholomew; and that a signal for its commencement should be given, by striking the great bell of the palace. At that dismal knell, the bloody work began. The peaceable and unsuspecting protestants were attacked in their lodgings; and no less than thirty thousand of them, were inhumanly dragged from their beds, and butchered in one night. The design of the papists, however, was not fully accomplished at that time,

but its execution was afterwards completed, by a succession of civil wars, which with small intermissions raged with all the fury of bigotry, stimulated by monarchal and hierarchal cruelty, for upwards of sixty years. Eight internal or civil wars arose in France, on account of religion, in the short space of twenty-two years: and from the commencement of these wars in the reign of Charles IX. till their conclusion in that of Lewis XIII. 150,000,000, livres, 9 cities, 400 towns, 2000 monasteries, 10,000 houses, and above a million of lives, were lost, burned, or destroyed. In the wars which have arisen between the christians and pagans, similar or greater calamities, have frequently been produced. But these devastations in France, were all occasioned by persons calling themselves christians.

The history of Great Britain furnishes a description of scenes and persecutions, nearly similar to those which occurred in France. Charles I. finding his protestant subjects less survile than he desired, issued a commission to the catholics of Ireland, for the purpose of authorising or exciting them, to murder all the protestants of that Island. Influenced by priestcraft, they were not backward in executing the king's warrant by a general attack on the harmless and defenceless protestants. And according to the most moderate calculation, they massacred about 40000, of them, before an obstacle could be opposed to their progress. Indeed, agreeably to the computations of some, 150, or 200, thousand protestants, were massacred or destroyed. Whichever way they turned, they were met by the bloody and enthusiastick bigots, who were so filled with superstitious madness, that they saved neither young nor old, male nor female from destruction. The supplications of pitiable infancy,

venerable age, and amiable feminality, were equally unable to abate the brutal ferocity, or rather hydrophobia of bigotry. Indeed, bigotry or superstition, when stimulated by the sermons and examples of villanous priests, is worse than hydrophobia or canine madness, for it induces people to do more mischief; and reason and humanity have no more influence over the one, than they have over the other. Besides, it infects great numbers; and nothing but superiour force can stop its calamitous progress.

I have thought proper to elucidate the text, by a brief account of a few of the general devastations, which hierarchies or established religions have occasioned. But from the nature of this work, it cannot be expected, that I can mention every instance of the kind which may be found in history: much less can it be expected, that I can particularize every execution; or enumerate the innumerable indviduals, who have been burned at the stake, torn to pieces with red hot pincers, or otherwise tortured, for presuming to doubt the absurdities, of an established sect.

NOTE 110. The letters or mandates, issued by the pope, are called bulls. By these bulls, the pope granted absolutions, licences, or dispensations; or the faculty or power of granting them. A book, containing a list of the fees received by the pope for indulgences, was translated into english, under the title of, "Rome a great "custom house for sin." By that book it appears, that people were absolved from the greatest crimes, on the payment of the stated fees: which were;

	s.	*d.*
For a layman who murders a layman	7.	6.
For *him who lays* violent hands on a clergy-		

man, so that it be without effusion of blood. 10. 6.
For a priest who keeps a concubine, and for a dispensation for being irregular. 10. 6.
For him who lies with a woman in a church. 9. 0.
For him who lies with his mother, sister, or godmother. 7. 6.
For him who burns his neighbours house. 12. 0.
For him who murders his father, mother, wife, or sister. 10. 6.

And for the fees of absolution or licence, for other offences, see the book above cited.

Thus the pure morality of the christian religion was concealed; while its name was grossly perverted to encourage the most abominable crimes, and to draw into the coffers of monarchs and bishops, all the wealth of christendom: for in every part of christendom, religious liberty was suppressed by their co-operation, and while they mutually assisted and supported each other, they divided their plunder between them.

The dominion of popery has been generally confined to Europe. But Europe is uot the only quarter of the earth, which is subjected to the impositions of priestcraft. Asia and Africa are enslaved by similar impositions and impostors. The Asiatic Pope is called a Grand Lama. His residence is in Thibet, And he is worshiped by the inhabitants of a territory, which is larger than all Europe. His worshipers are taught to believe that he never dies; but that he only removes or transmigrates from one body to another. They think that, when his body becomes old or infirm, he leaves it to seek for one which is younger and more perfect: and that his spirit, after his transmigration, is found in the body or person of some child, by some of the

priests or lamas. They believe that he always appears in the order of the priesthood: and that he is discovered by certain signs, which are known or visible to none but the lamas. Many of the people of that vast country which is known by the name of Scythia or Tartary, come every year to worship him, and to offer rich presents at his shrine.

NOTE 111. Hierarchy, or ecclusiastical or church government, is so inimical to human happiness, that where ever the clergy have been established or invested with any degree of coercive power, they have endeavoured to deprive mankind of their reason, or, at least, to render it useless, by telling them that it was unsafe to trust to it, and that they ought to be guided, solely, by the opinions and directions of their priests. The Roman catholic clergy, who trampled so long upon the happiness of christendom, and nearly one half the habitable world, went so far as to prohibit the people, from reading the bible; alleging that human reason would not enable them rightly to understand it; and, therefore, that they ought to hear such parts only, and with such interpretations, as were delivered to them from the pulpit. They asserted that if the people read the the bible, without the explanations of some clergyman, that it would lead them astray. But the true reason was, they were afraid that if the people were permitted to read it, they would become too much enlightened; and would discover wherein the clergy had deviated from its sacred precepts, in order to gratify their licentious passions. It was thus that those men, who pretended to be the ministers or servants of God, endeavoured to intercept every ray of light, which he had sent for the guide or salvation of mankind. They prohibited the

people from the use of both reason and the bible: although they admitted that the latter contained the word of God; and they were as well convinced of the divine origin of the former.

If we should ask those men who forbid the use of reason, if they knew who created it, agreeably to their own doctrine, they would be obliged to admit, that reason is the gift of God. For if God created man, he must have created reason also; as reason is a part or faculty of man. For what purpose would the deity have delivered his divine law to men, if he had not endowed them with reason, or with a faculty to understand it? or if he had not intended that they should understand it, by the light of that reason which he had given them? It may, perhaps, be said, that he who interprets the scriptures must be inspired. But if that be true, he derives his knowledge from inspiration, or from God himself; and not from his book. Therefore whoever says, that inspiration or revelation is necessary for the true interpretation of the scriptures, virtually declares that the sacred book is of no use: for if inspiration be necessary; inspiration is an immediate communication of the will of the deity without the aid of any written law: and the necessity of the one, must be entirety incompatible with that of the other.

Priests say that they derive their knowledge by inspirations from God. They also say that the people ought not to read the bible, because they cannot understand it; but ought to depend wholly on them for their information. Now, if their assertions be true, the holy scriptures are totally useless, both to them, and to the laity: for agreeably to their story, they receive their information by another way; and the laity can receive

theirs only from them; so that neither of them would derive any benefit from the written gospel. But I contend that it is safest for every man, to interpret the scriptures agreeably to that light which God has given him. If he trust entirely to the constructions of preachers, he may be misled for they are men like himself; and he has no means by which he can ascertain that they are not false ministers, or men of corrupt hearts. If the clergy be inspired, as they pretend to be, or if they are not like other men, what is the reason that they give us so many different interpretations of the scriptures? or what is the reason that there is so many different sects? They contradict each other; and yet they all pretend to be right; and would have the laity to depend on them alone. But, if mankind have received reason and written law from the deity, the very act of giving them, proves that they are entitled to the use of them: for it would be in vain to give; unless we are permitted to use what is given. Consequently, to prohibit the people from the free use of reason and divine law, must be extremely, unrighteous. To labour to instruct and civilize men, is just and laudable; but to endeavour to deprive them of all confidence in their own judgment, or to render them ignorant and superstitious, is a proof of deliberate malice against the whole human race.

Let no virtuous or religious man be offended by these observations. I am not an enemy to him nor to true religion: but I detest the conduct of those men, who labour to hide the true religion from the people, that they may the more easily promote their own pecuniary interest, by the inculcation of false and pernicious notions. I repeat that I am not an enemy to religious

men: but I am an unalterable and inexorable enemy to priestcraft; and he who is not, is an enemy to sound religion: for experience has constantly demonstrated, that priestcraft is no less inimical to the orthodox religion, than destructive to human happiness.

NOTE 112. Sectal is used for sectarian, or to denote something belonging to religious sects: a sectal spirit is that arrogant, dogmatical spirit which actuates religious sects or parties. It is the spirit of those who are unwilling to admit that others have the same right of thinking which they claim for themselves.

NOTE 113. Our Saviour never required, that mankind should observe any absurd ceremonies; or suffer any useless mortifications. He never desired that they should make themselves unhappy, or deny themselves any harmless gratification: and therefore all that jargon about mortifying the flesh, originates in priestcraft. It is neither consistent with reason nor christianity; and ought to be discountenanced; because it has an evident tendency to diminish the felicity of mankind. To live soberly and honestly, to observe the just and useful laws of society, and to abstain from every act, which would be contrary to justice and humanity, are duties which God has enjoined. But to travel three or four hundred miles, through the storms of winter, to kiss the pope's toe; or to stand three or four days barefoot, uncovered, and without eating, to obtain absolution; or to submit to any deprivation, mortification, pain, trouble, or expense, which is injurious or unserviceable to mankind, under a superstitious idea, that it is serviceable to God; is as ridiculous as any thing, which a human *being* could perform: nay, it is not only absurd, but culpable, because it is an evil example in society. Read

the words of Christ himself; and see if he ever required any such ridiculous fopperies. Our Saviour required that we should serve him by serving his people; and not by the ceremonious performance of any thing childish, useless, unintelligible, or absurd.

No one should act, until he is convinced of the propriety of acting: and in order to ascertain this, he ought to consider all the consequences, which would result from the intended act: and if they would not be injurious to himself, nor to any sensible creature which does or may exist, the act would be justifiable. But if the act, or its consequences, would be injurious to himself, or others, he ought to reflect whether the commission or omission of it, would be the most pernicious; and prefer that, which would be the least productive of evil. If he wishes for any gratification, which he knows to be harmless in its nature, the anathemas or curses of a priest, ought not to frighten him from the enjoyment of it. But every man, while he acts as a free agent, is bound to use due diligence in searching after truth: and if he omit this diligence, he will be accountable for any evils, which shall result from his errors of judgment.

We sometimes meet with profligates, who console themselves with the assertion, that they have never injured any one but themselves. It would be well, however, for such persons to consider, how far an injury to themselves may be an injury to others For it frequently happens, that such people injure the community, by the evil examples which they set before it. They may also injure it, by injuring their families, or by disqualifying themselves or their descendants for that public service which it is their duty to perform. The man who

wastes his property, destroys his health, or loses his reputation by intemperance, will probably produce similar misfortunes for his children; and leave them no other inheritance than that of want, disease, and infamy. There are, indeed, but few cases, in which a man can injure himself, without injuring the community in which he lives. But every gratification which would not be hurtful to ourselves, nor to any coexistent nor future being was certainly created and intended by the deity for our enjoyment. For such gratifications are consistent with reason; and the dictates of reason are the dictates of God.

The eradication of absurd notions of religion, would, undoubtedly be beneficial to society. By the propogation of them, many people are induced to submit to great expenses and hardships, to support the useless pomp of ridiculous ceremonies: even while they are withheld from every rational pleasure; and have scarcely a morsel of bread for their families.

NOTE 114. It may, perhaps, be supposed by some, that the days of persecution have passed away and that it is unnecessary, at this time, to refer the reader to those disagreeable and melancholy scenes, which are not likely to be renewed. They may have been in the habit of considering the persecution of religious sects or dissenters, as the peculiar offspring of some particular church; and may, therefore, imagine, if such church has lost its power, that there is no danger of persecutions from any other, if it should be established in its stead. But whoever entertains such notions, can have but little knowledge of human nature; or of the cause of persecution. Religious intolerance does not arise from the nature of the creed which is professed.

The Jews, Gaurs, Polytheists, Christians, and Mahometans, have, each, employed coercion and violence for the dissemination of their opinions; and have put those whom they called heretics to death. If the polytheists and the followers of Hermes, Zoroaster, Beddou, Brumma, Confucius, and Mahomet, had been the only persecutors, there might be some reason to suppose, that the cruelty with which they treated dissenters, was the effect of the opinions which these imaginary prophets, propagated amongst them. But as those whose religion teaches peace and good will to man, and expressly forbids them to propagate its precepts by violence, have exercised an equal degree of cruelty on each other; it necessarily follows, that there is some other cause for persecution, than the belief of particular creeds. If it was merely the effect of false systems of religion, the orthodox would not have been guilty of it. But we find that they, and the followers of all other systems, have been equally disposed to employ it. Long before the christian aera, the pagans persecuted the schismatics; or those who refused to conform to the established religion; which was at that time polytheism, or a belief in a plurality of Gods. After that area, the jews who were established in Judea, persecuted the christians. So when the latter gained the ascendency; they suddenly lost their meekness and humility; and in their turn persecuted the jews. In the same manner, the christians and pagans, as they alternately became predominant, alternately persecuted and harassed each other. And, from the time that the inhabitants of Britain, and other parts of Europe, were converted to christianity, to the present day, every established sect has *manifested* the same spirit. In England, the roman

catholics persecuted the protestants, until the reformation gave the latter the predominance; and, after that event, the protestants, although they had cried out so pitiously against the religious intolerance of the catholics, were scarcely seated in power, before they became equally intolerant and oppressive themselves; and commenced as violent a persecution of the papists, as the papists had carried on against them. As soon as the papists were suppressed, the established protestants persecuted the presbyterians, quakers, and other dissenters or puritans, with the same intolerant spirit. The presbyterians were so harassed and tormented, by them, that they left their native country; and emigrated to America. But, although they were compelled to leave their native land, by the injustice of religious coercion; yet, these outcasts, who were still complaining of persecution, and smarting with the wounds which it had inflicted had no sooner, become sensible of their own power, than they also became persecutors; and showed the same injustice to the quakers, which the presbyterians themselves had so recently experienced from the episcopatians. They passed severe laws against them; and actually hanged some of them, on account of their religious opinions.

The divisions, subdivisions, and persecutions, which have taken place in other parts of the world, have been similar to those which have been witnessed in christendom. The followers of Zoroaster, Brumma, Fot, Confucius, and Mahomet, have, as I observed before, been harassed, in like manner, by religious contests. And all those contests have proceeded from the same cause. *But* what is the cause? the cause is obvious, or at least, *un*deniably demonstrable; and wherever or whenever

it exists, it will infallibly and necessarily produce the same effect. It is a union of church and power; or a union of religion and government. When this takes place, injustice necessarily follows; and, wherever the people are compelled by government, to contribute to any sect or sects whatever, this union exists. It is immaterial what church or churches, the government espouses or supports: for the clergy of the church espoused, who are always the persecutors, are not actuated by a love of religion; but by a love of the honours, salaries, and fat livings, which they have been in the habit of enjoying. It is to secure these, and not for the sake of religion, that they instigate their hearers to suppress or destroy all other sects. If they tolerate religious liberty, other sects may start up; and the tithes, contributions, or taxes, appropriated to them, may be withheld, or transferred to other ministers. Like monarchs they have generally been afraid of free inquiry; and have employed the same kind of logic, to suppress or prevent it. The moment they heard of any one, who ventured to express a doubt of the truth of their creed, a dreadful apparatus of racks, and screws, and wheels, and pulleys, and fires, and fagots, and pincers, was immediately brought, to convince him, and all others, of the truth of their religion; or rather that it was the duty of the layity, to pay a large share of the fruit of their industry to them. Hence it must appear, that the same vanity and sensuality, the same love of riches, splendour, luxury, and idleness, which makes monarchs, also makes hypocrits, and persecutors. There is, in truth, a great analogy between them; for they are the same kind of men, placed in different spheres or conditions. I could confidently and consciously assert (for nothing

can be more certain,) that the greater number of priests or clergymen, who have, at any time, been concerned in injuring or destroying those whom they called heretics were infidels and hypocrits, who did not believe in the religion which they professed. Professions prove nothing, for men may profess any thing: but actions prove men's principles. If the roman catholic priests had believed, that he who kills his fellow creature will be damned or condemned to eternal punishment, would they have shed so much innocent blood, for the gratification of a moment? would a priest who believed in the christian religion, commit thirty thousand murders in one night? No, no, no one who believed the divine precepts of christianity would be guilty of such atrocity. The very act of making a man pay against his will to a priest or minister, is an act of injustice. Our Saviour and his apostles opposed such injustice: and nothing could be more inconsistent with persecution, than the precepts which they taught. But, notwithstanding the purity of their doctrine, those who came afterwards, though they professed the same doctrine, were, when in power, the vilest persecutors. If any religion could have prevented an established clergy from employing persecution, the pure principles of the christian religion would have had that effect. But, as that has failed in so many instances, it follows conclusively, that, unless the very nature of mankind be greatly altered, all sects, with the same power, would become equally corrupt.

The christian priests or ministers were forbid, by their religion, to spread their opinions by the sword. They were forbid to commit murder. They were forbid to commit a variety of offences, of all of which they were guilty. And some of them have been murderers,

who have incurred the enormous guilt, of thirty thousand murders in one night: as will appear by the history of the parisian massacre. See note 108.

History authorizes me to assert, that there never was in any age, country, or religion, a single instance of an established church, or church supported by government, without cruelty and persecution. If an establisement which secures permanent pomp and reverence riches and profits to a certain class of men, did not find them corrupt, it would, at furthest, in the second or third generation, make them so; or at least, the majority of them. For as flies draw near to a carcase; so corrupt men creep by degrees, into an establishment, where riches, good livings, and an opportunity of indulging their passions, are to be found. Such men are generally, most sucessful in promoting themselves to places of profit: because they employ all kinds of means, are always on the watch, and always exerting themselves to obtain them.

The act of establishing any religious sect whatever, is an act of tyranny: and I know not why it should be expected, that any sect which would accept of unjust power, would use it with lenity: when it is always excepted for the very perpose of doing injustice.

It is fair to infer that the same inducements, which have uniformly operated on the minds of the clergy, in certain cases, from the days of the ancient Chaldeans to the present time, will continue to operate on them in the same way, whenever they shall be placed in the same circumstances. If the taste of tithes, luxuriance, reverence, idleness, or sumptuous livings, was sufficient to tempt the clergy of Britain to commit acts of persecution, while they were called papists, it would be sufficient to tempt them under the name of protestants; or

any other name, by which they might be called: for the change of men's names cannot change their natures. Names, it is true, are not without an effect: they hide many sins, and too often impose upon mankind. So great, indeed, was the influence of names over the minds of men, that although the Catholic priests had committed so many enormities, yet a reformation could not be effected; until a dispute about the money, which they had fraudulently obtained from the people, divided those priests into parties, and induced them to oppose each other. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Leo X. granted a commission for the sale of indulgences. Shops were, every where opened for the sale of them: And they were sold in taverns, brothels, and disorderly places.

In Saxony, the Augustine Friars had been commissioned to sell the indulgences; and had derived considerable profit from the trust. But they were suspected by the popes minister of embezzling too much of the money; and therefore this lucrative employment was transferred from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther was an Augustine monk: and the translation of this profitable trade, or means of deception, from his order to that of St. Dominic, gave him offence. He was, at that time, professor in the university of Wirtenburg; and used all his influence and learning to effect the reformation. He, at first, denied the efficacy of indulgences; and, afterwards, the supremacy of the pope.

Thus, the influence of names bound mankind in the chains of superstition, until a quarrel between those whom they had stupidly reverenced, opened the way for that reformation, which was soon after advanced, by

the vices and passions of Henry VIII. This British monarch, although he had written a book against Luther, for which the pope gave him the title of; "defender of the faith," was too impetuous in his temper, to be long restrained by the Roman Pontiff. He had a remarkable propensity for bridal pleasures; and for devorcing and beheading his wives. And the many delays of these gratifications, which might be occasioned by so many applications for papal indulgence, were more than he was disposed to indure. When he became tired of his first wife, he asked the pope's consent to divorce her, in order to obtain another. But, being too impatient to wait until he could obtain an indulgence, which might have occasioned considerable delay; and perhaps, too parsimonious to pay the fee, which was probably demanded for it, he renounced the pope's supremacy; and declared himself the head of the church. By these means he divested himself of all ecclesiastical restraint. But his conduct offended many of the popish clergy: and in order to support his pretensions, it was necessary to reduce their power and influence. For this purpose, he appointed officers to examine the monasteries, and other religious houses; and to make a report of the state in which they were; and of the amount of their possessions and revenues. When this examination took place, great crimes and disorders were discovered among the priests and convential orders. Whole convents were found, abandoned to wickedness; and to the practice of robbing and defrauding the people, by all kinds of artifice and deception. As soon as their crimes were developed, the clergy were so completely deprived of their influence over the people, that Henry, without the least danger, seiz-

ed their possessions; and divided them among his tools and favourites. This was a fatal stroke to the popish religion of England. For while the loss of their characters and possessions diminished the power of the catholic priests, it increased the power of their adversaries; and enabled the king to support the ecclesiastical supremacy which he had assumed. But the hierarchy which he established, although it is less powerful, perhaps, and therefore, in some degree, less corrupt, is but little less oppresive, than that which he destroyed.

Injustice and persecution, therefore, are the necessary consequences of hierarchy; and of every degree of ecclesiastical power. Consequently religion and government ought to be kept for ever separate or distinct; and no coercion or violence ought to be used in religious matters; nor exercised on any individuals, sects, or communities, on account of their religion: except it is where their manner of worship, has become a nuisance to society.

It is well known that men have a variety of different tastes; and that what is congenial to one, is not so to another. It must therefore be evidently unjust to confine them to the same kind of diet: and as their minds are as various as their tastes, it must be no less useless and unjust, to attempt to restrain them to the same opinions. How can it be material to me, whether a man profess the same religious opinions that I do, or not? All that can concern me, is his conduct: and though he entertain a thousand erronious notions, yet, while he injures no one but himself, it is not my business to restrain him. Neither is the business or concern of any other, except the Deity himself. And he who endeavours to deprive a man of the liberty of

conscience, or to force him to contribute to any church, whatever, against his will, is a caitiff, who deliberately conspires against the happiness of society, and ought to be regarded as its foe.

NOTE 115. While some people count pork a very delicious dish, and use it freely, others dislike it, and think that it is not fit to be eaten. But the greater number of those who dislike it, are prejudiced against it by their religion. By that they are interdicted from the use of it, and taught to believe, that it is an unclean meat. So while some have a great antipathy to cheese, and would be disgusted with the taste of it, others have a natural relish for it; or are religiously fond of it, because it is made of the milk of an animal, which they superstitiously reverence. So also, with respect to other things, what some like, others dislike: and any of these different sympathies and antipathies may arise either from religious, or physical causes.

Hence some have had such a strong antipathy to cats, that they could not endure the sight of them; while others under the prejudice of education have religiously worshiped them. So great indeed was the veneration of some of the ancient Egyptians for these animals that if a man happened to kill one of them, he was immediately torn to pieces by a superstitious multitude.

NOTE 116. The Jews were debarred by their religion from the use of pork, which according to their notions was an unclean meat: and their religious antipathies to it, were so singularly great, that they would face death in its most frightful aspects rather than taste it.

When Antiochus IV. king of Syria, took Jerusalem, *he put many of them* to death for refusing to relinquish *their religion.* And like a true brute, as he was, he

sometimes amused himself by trying cruel experiments on those unfortunate people. We are told, that to ascertain the constancy with which they adhered to their religion, or for the gratification of his cruelty, he ordered a dish of pork to be set before some of them; and promised, that if they would eat of it, he would give them riches and honours; but at the same time, threatened, that if they refused, he would torture them until they complied. Many of them despised his threats and his promises; and suffered torments and death with the most heroic fortitude. Among the rest who were subjected to miserable deaths, by their own superstition, and the tyranny of Antiochus, there were seven brothers and their mother, who shewed a degree of firmness, worthy of a better fate. The tyrant presided at their executions, and saw them tortured, one after the other, in the presence of their mother; and in a manner, too shocking and dismal to describe. During the dreadful process which they underwent, of racking, flaying, burning, boiling, and otherwise tormenting, they were frequently asked, if they would comply with the tyrant's commands; but they all constantly refused, and with equal resolution, died, protesting their abhorrence of the sin of eating pork.

These cruel executions, when we consider the tyrant, the executioners, and the sufferers, exhibit in one view, a sample of the dreadful consequences of monarchy and hierarchy, with their legitimate offspring, barbarity, servility and superstition.

Some other ancient nations were precluded from the use of pork. So also, are the Mahometans or Turks, at *the* present day. They believe that it is impure, and *abstain* from it, because it is forbidden by the Koran, a

book, which they believe to have been written by Mahomet, and to contain the divine law.

The ancient Egyptians worshipped a Bull, which they called Apis. And they thought that they could not shew a proper reverence and zeal for their god, without shewing some respect to his relations or species: and, therefore, they believed it to be their duty to refrain from eating beef.

The modern Hindoos have a great veneration for the females of this species of animals; and their regard seems to extend to their milk: but their mode of shewing it, is different from that of the Egyptians, for it is not shewn by abstaining from the object of adoration, but by devouring it.

From the above historical facts, it must be evident, that one sect has not been willing to permit another to eat that kind of food which was most agreeable to them: nor even to abstain from that which was, perhaps, the most nauseous or unwholesome. That kind of diet, which may be most agreeable to another, may not be agreeable to me. But the nourishment which it affords to him, can do me no injury; and if he chooses to eat it, I can have no right to prevent him from doing so: for, though such diet be injurious to my constitution, it may be essential to his. So on the other side, that which may be most salutary to me, may be injurious or fatal to him. And therefore, I can have no right to compel him to eat that which he dislikes.

A great variety of different sympathies and antipathies, evidently exist in the constitutions of men. Consequently, the only restraint which can be justly imposed, is that which is necessary to prevent one from injuring another.

NOTE 117. The ancient Chaldeans worshiped a serpent; and by some of the African nations, serpents are still the object of adoration. Many other animals have also been worshiped. Some nations have worshiped a hawk; some a crockadile; some a stork: some a sheep; some a wolf, a bear, a lion, a fish; in short, almost every animal, in some age and nation, has been deemed sacred, and adored as a divinity.

NOTE 118. No man can have an option or choice in forming an opinion from any given number of facts, or quantity of information. If his judgment be sufficiently perfect, the conclusion which he must draw from the knowledge which he possesses, will be correct in relation to that knowledge. If his judgment be weak, he may draw an erronious deduction: but in either case, his opinions are the result of the uncontroulable operations of his mind, on the evidence which is exhibited to it.

For a further illustration of this proposition, suppose that a lighted candle were set on a table, within reach of a man; and he were assured that there was no candle there, could he, after he had seen it, felt it, and put his finger to the blaze, believe that it was not there, if he desired to believe so? or if he were told, that it was there, could he, while the candle remained on the table, disbelieve the assertion? or if the candle were removed, and he could neither see it, nor feel it, could he believe that it was still present, if he were told so, and desired to believe it? It must be obvious, that whatever his will or his desire might be, he could neither believe nor disbelieve, contrary to the evidence, which comes to his mind.

NOTE 119. It must be obvious to men of discernment, that the infliction of torture is a proof of the most

abominable of all vices. Every established clergy, by employing it so often, have given an unequivocal demonstration of their depravity. They have proved, that they have been, notwithstanding their pretended sanctity, far more barbarous than the gothic conquerors: for those conquerors generally destroyed their antagonists in battle; they despatched them by a stroke of their sabres, and not by long, iuhuman, and protracted torments.

NOTE 120. The king of Thibet, or Asiatic pope, is called a grand lama. (See note 109.) The monarchs of Egypt, Arabia and Persia, who were the descendants or successors of Mahomet, were called califs. The kings or monarchs of Turkey, are called grand seigniors or sultans; those of Russia, czars; those of Persia, shahs, sophies, or sultans; those of Tartary, khans or shahs; those of India or Indostan, moguls or rajahs; and those of Egypt and the coast of Barbary, beys or deys. Many other titles have been given, in different ages of the world, to men, holding the same kind of dominion; but it would be useless to enumerate them.

Thus it must appear, that persons who exercise monarchical powers, are called by different names. This variety of titles has undoubtedly originated in dissimulation. Different names have often been assumed for the purpose of deceiving the people. For this purpose Oliver Cromwell assumed the title of protector, instead of the title of king. He knew that the people had been taught by melancholy experience to associate the most dreadful ideas with that title. He knew that they were too well acquainted with the miseries which are produced by monarchy, to desire its re-establishment. And he, therefore endeavoured to conceal the monster under

another name. But as names are but sounds, which are connected only in idea with substances, and can never alter the things which they are used to point or denominate, and as Oliver usurped and exercised the powers of royaly, he was as much a king as if he were called so. Mankind should be admonished to beware of names, and taught to judge by better criterions. Credulity is the common foible of ignorant people. They do not, in general, consider how easy it is for vicious men, to give or assume names, or tell falsehoods: and therefore, names and misrepresentations, are the common expedients, by which they are deceived.

If the people were acquainted with the proper indications of truth, a man might use what appellations he pleased; all the names and attributes which he could use or impute, would not be sufficient to mislead them. However as kings are not always called kings, before I conclude this note, I will merely observe, in addition to what I have previously observed on the same subject, that any chief ruler who possesses illegal power, or power not circumscribed, and freely delegated to him for a limited time, by the people, is a king or monarch.

NOTE 121. Every homicide which is committed in war, must be either murder or self defence. And it can only be self defence, when it is committed by a nation, who have been unjustly attacked. Every species of homicide must be either justifiable, excusable, or felonious. But, unless the nation be under the necessity of committing it, for their own defence, it can neither be justifiable nor excusable; and therefore it must be felonious. Felonious homicide is divided into *two* species. These are manslaughter and murder.

Manslaughter is either the voluntary act of killing another in a sudden quarrel, after great provocation, and before there is a sufficient time for the heat of passion to cool; or it is the involuntary act of killing another, by the attempt to commit some act which is unlawful, but not felonious. For the homicide which is involuntarily committed, in an attempt to perpetrate felony, is declared, by law, to be murder. Now, it is evident that the homicide committed in war, cannot be manslaughter; for nations cannot be sundenly provoked, like an individual: and, if they could, there is ample time before a declaration can be made, or before an army can be raised, accoutered, and disciplined, or even before they can be brought into the field, for the heat of passion to cool. It cannot, therefore, be voluntary manslaughter; neither can it be involuntary manslaughter; not only because it is deliberately intended; but, in case of offensive war, because it is done in an attempt to commit felony. As the homicide which is committed by a nation, in the prosecution of an unjust war, cannot be either justifiable or excusable homicide, nor manslaughter, it demonstratively and irresistably follows, that it must be murder. Every individual in the nation, therefore who is any ways instrumental in causing or prosecuting such a war, or does not do his duty in endeavouring to prevent it, participates, more or less, in the guilt of that enormous crime. If he is present, or in arms, at the time the offence is committed, he is guilty of murder, whether the fatal stroke proceed from his hand or not: and, if he willingly contributes to pay the expenses of this species of war, or counsels, advices, or incourages it, he is an accessary to the same offence; and, consequently, no less culpable. The criminalness of

an action is the same, whether it be committed by nations or individuals; by many or by a few. Because the number of those who are engaged in the perpetration of a crime, cannot lessen the iniquity of the deed. Every person who goes, with others, to commit murder or robbery, if he be present, or near, when the crime is perpetrated; and does not endeavour to prevent it, is, in law, and in reason, guilty of the offence; whether it be done by his own hands, or those of his companions. And if ten thousand or ten millions were in company, they would be all equally criminal.

From the whole, this conclusion follows, that any nation, who knowingly and wilfully take the life and property of a human being, in an offensive war, are guilty of murder and robbery. Because such nation in killing dispossessing, or subjugating, those whom they attack, do the same that felons do; and with the same motive and therefore they must be felons. Indeed, they are more culpable than the common felon who robs on the high way; for he may be urged by the want of necessaries, but they are urged by pride and ambition.

NOTE 122. When we see two men fighting, we immediately infer, that one of them, at least, must be a trespasser. And a similar conclusion, because it is unexceptionably true, may be inferred from the conflicts of two belligerent nations. The conduct of one of them must be unjustifiable; because one of them must be the aggressor. So that if the people always intend to do right, war could never commence, if their intention were not, in some way restrained, by unjust or defective governments. But whether they always *intend* what is right or not, they certainly intend to pursue their pecuniary interests, at least; as far as they

can justly go. Therefore, if the forms of government were so perfect as to free the people from all unjust restraints; and secure to the majority that predominance to which it is entitled, war could never take place. Because, whether the majority of the people would ever do what is unjustifiable or not, they would certainly not do that which is in every other respect disadvantageous; and consequently they would not declare war. For war, as will appear from the next note, is, in every instance disadvantageous and prejudicial, to a great mojority of every nation which is engaged in it.

But I believe that the people always intended to do what it is right; and would not do injustice, if they were not misled by those, who think they have an interest in deceiving them. This opinion is strengthened when we reflect, that strict justice to all men, and all nations, is consistent with the real interest of all mankind; and that iniquityonly gratifies the passions of the few, but cannot, in any way, promote the interests of the many. However, in the decision of national questions, the people undoubtedly always avoid every thing which is both unprofitable and unjust, unless they are deceived or restrained, and nothing can long deceive or restrain them, but defective constitutions, or monarchical governments. But offensive war is both unprofitable and unjust; and therefore, if the people do not avoid it, it proves that there is some defect in that government which is the aggressor, to deceive or restrain them.

NOTE 123. If nations would calculate the expenses of war, and the various evils which arise from it, they would be convinced by the computation, that the *injuries which they* sustain by it, are, in every instance, *infinitely greater*, than the advantages derived from it

To shew that it is, in no case, the interest of the people, I will begin by supposing, that one king declares war against an another: that the whole amount of circulating money of the kingdom, is 100,000,000; and that to defray the expenses of the war, 50,000,000, or one half of the former sum, is levied on, and exacted from the people. If we suppose, also, that the war is successful; and that 200,000,000, of money is plundered from the conquered nation, what part of that sum will the people receive? A large share of it would be retained by the officers, paymasters, and contracters of the army; and the residue, would go to the crown. The people who had defrayed the costs of the war, and had lost their parents, sons, husbands, or property, during its continuance, would not receive a single cent of it. However, to place war in its most favourable light, we will suppose, that, after the king and his creatures have pocketed one half of the 200,000,000, the residue is distributed among the people. But still, the people would derive no benefit from the war. It must be remembered, that a tax of 50,000,000 was extorted from them, to pay the expenses of it. And if it continue only one third of the time which some wars last, the interest on that sum, would amount to as much more. So that upon this supposition, which is the most favourable that can be made, the people would lose as much money as they would receive; but would not be remunerated for any other loss. In calculating their other losses, besides the destruction of friends and property, we are to reckon the consequences of the accumulation of 150,000,000, in a few hands. The consequence of this would be, that the few who possessed it, would be enabled to obtain from the people as much labour and pro-

duce, as that sum would procure at the current price. This exchange, together with the distribution previously supposed, would put the whole of the money obtained by the war, into circulation, And the current money of the kingdom, would then amount to 300,000,000. As by this supposition, the money in circulation would be increased by the war, form 100,000,000 to 300,000,000, some may conclude, that it had greatly promoted the interest of the people. But it would not have that effect. The price of things are always in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation. Consequently, although the people have thrice the quantity of of money, after the war, they will be obliged to give three dollars for an article, which might have been obtained for one, before the war began. They would not, therefore, be benefited, by this increase of current money. But while the value of their species would remain the same, their loss, in labour and produce, would be 150,000,000; and we may suppose that their loss, by the neglect of business, and in the destruction of towns, houses, and other property, would be 150,000,000 more. So that besides the sons, husbands, and parents, who would be slaughtered, the people would lose near 300,000,000 of money by the war, even upon the supposition, that they had received the 100,000,000, supposed to be gained by it.

If the current or circulating money of a nation, could be increased until it was necessary to take a cart load, instead of a dollar, to purchase a small article, the people would not be benefited by it. For the same labour must be performed; and the same portion of the product of that labour, would be taken to maintain a wasteful and *extravagant court.* But the circulating money would

not increase, until the people had given infinitely more than it is worth, if it be worth any thing; for I believe there never was an instance in which the tax levied on the people, to defray the expenses of war, was refunded after its conclusion; nor in which any part of the money obtained by it was distributed gratis among them. Before the money brought into a country by war, leaves the hands of the king and his ercatures, to go into circulation, the people must exchange for it, an equal quantity of labour or produce; and would thereby lose an intrinsic for a nominal property; or property which would depreciate, as fast as it was received.

The riches which are plundered from nations, are always divided between the king and his vicious instruments; and, consequently, become a means in their hands, still more to depress and debase mankind. If this wealth be sent abroad, a part of it must necessarily be sunk. The rest will introduce luxury aud effeminacy; and invite the power of some other nation, to prey upon the conquerors, in the same manner that they have preyed upon others; and not only deprive them of what they have gained by rapacity, but waste their country; and, perhaps, exterminate its corrupt and miserable inhabitants.

The circumstances of the war which I have supposed, would be such as would be least injurious to the people. For I have supposed it to be successful; that the people are subject to monarchy; and that a much larger sum, in proportion to the expenses of the war, would be plundered from the adversary, than is generally, or, perhaps, ever obtained. I have not included, in the supposition, *the* danger of defeat, ruin, or subjugation; nor even the *im*probability of taking more from the adversary, than

the adversary would take from them. But it frequently happens, that nations, after waging war for many years, doing all the mischief they can, and keeping each other in continual alarm, make peace, by agreeing to restore whatever had been taken and not destroyed, by either party, during the war. It may easily be demonstrated, that when peace is made on these conditions, the expense of the war, and the waste and devastation which it occasioned, is utterly and irretrievably lost.

Hence, all the subject can possibly reap from hostility, are taxation and oppression; and the labour and expense of rebuilding their towns, and repairing their losses.

The destruction of so many great cities, and populous and powerful empires, proves to mankind, that every nation which is engaged in war, is in danger of a similar fate. Kings, commanders, contracters, and paymasters, expect to derive a profit from such perilous enterprises: but the people, who would be most exposed to the dreadful calamities, which result from a state of hostility, can have no interest in subjecting themselves to the risk of war; because it is s risk from which they cannot possibly derive any advantage. The expense of warfare generally, if not always, exceeds the value of the property taken from the enemy: and whether it does or not, I have irrefutably shewn, that the people who must bear this expense are never remunerated; and, consequently, that whatever may be the event of hostility, they must inevitably lose, upon the lowest calculation, all the charges of carrying it on, and also the lives, cities, towns, and property, which are destroyed during its continuance. If examples be necessary to prove *this, Great Britain* is a living example of the truth of it.

She has been frequently involved in hostility, and what has she gained by it? Though, from her singular situation, she is less liable to invasion and conquest, than other nations; she has been more than once invaded and conquered. And the people, besides being oppressed by every species of taxation, and sometimes, nearly starved to death, are now loaded with the enormous debt, of upwards of 916,382,755 pounds sterling; or 4072,812,244 dollars and 44 cents of our money. It amounted to upwards of this sum, above a year ago, exclusive of annuities; and at this time it must amount to considerably more than 1000,000,000*l.* sterling: or 4444, 444, 444 dollars, and 44 cents of our currency.

But it is said that a public debt is a national benefit: and if this proposition be true, public debt must indeed, be a copious source of benefits to the people of Great Britain. It seems hardly necessary to spend an observation on this silly proposition. I will, however, observe, that, if a public debt be a national benefit, it must be the interest of a nation to borrow money; and to throw it, if she can find no other sink, into the sea, in order to have the benefit of paying the interest. As a reason in support of the absurd opinion that a public debt is a benefit it has been alledged, that if a nation borrow of her own citizens, she borrows of herself, is indebted to herself, and cannot be any poorer than she would be if she had not borrowed because all the wealth borrowed, remains in the hands of her government, or is expended among her citizens. This argument may appear plausible to some men; but to others, it appears evidently fallacious and, indeed, even ridiculous. If a government borrow 1000,000,000, *l. s.* and expend it *in unnecessary* and offensive war, the whole amoun *will be* sunk; and, whether the money be expended at

home or abroad, the nation loses, at least, 1000,000,000*l.* sterling. If the money be expended in the nation from which it was borrowed, whoever receives it must give an equivalent, either in manufactures, labour, or provisions; and, when that equivolent is uselessly wasted, the debt by which it was obtained, remains, a burden on the nation. For instance, if the government take my corn, and pay me the value of it, I am no richer than I was before: for though I receive the money, I lose my corn; and the corn is as valuable as the money. And if I am compelled, after giving an equivolent for this money, to pay the interest of it until I refund it in tax, I must unquestionably lose the whole amount of it.

If a tax of ten per cent, would be sufficient to pay all the expenses of government, when they amount to 10,000,000, a tax of 60 per cent would be necessary to raise that sum, and pay the interest of 1000,000,000, at five per cent. Hence it is monstrously absurd, to say, that a bublic debt is a benefit to the people, when they are obliged to pay the interest until they pay the principal; or to pay a tax of 60, per cent, instead of ten. If a monarch should ask his subjects to lend him 1000,000,000, of pounds sterling, payable at the day of judgment; and should tell them that he would pay them 50000,000*l.* sterling, the interest on the said loan, annually, provided they would pay him an annual tax, to enable him to do it, it would be difficult to persuade them, that they would be much benefited by lending their money on such conditions; or that they would not lose the whole of their principal, because it must be evident that after the monarch had spent it, he would have no means of repaying it; except it were by taxing the very nation *from which* he had borrowed it. In short, the money

which is borrowed from a nation, and expended in offensive war, or unnecessarily expended, is as absolutely lost, as if it were sunk in the sea; and, indeed, a part of it is often literally sunk; and the rest is chiefly employed in purchasing military stores: and these stores are to be devoured by men and horses that are so far from being useful, that they are a dangerous burden on the public. These military stores, are, therefore, uselessly or unproductively employed. They can only be derived from the nation with the nations money: and whether the money be lost or not, the community must, at least, lose its equivolent in stores. The conclusion, therefore, is that the nation which lends its money, even to its own government to be unnecessarily expended, must inevitably lose the whole amount of the loan, either in money, or its equivolent of provisions.

The assertion, that a public debt is a public benefit has originated with those who wished to deceive and oppress mankind. They supposed that a government might increase its power by borrowing large sums of money of individuals who possessed wealth and influence. For they naturally concluded that the lender, after he had placed his money in the public funds, would support that government, however tyrannical, on whose preservation the security of his money or income, seemed to depend. They probably calculated the double influence, which the loan of money would have a tendency to create: for two classes of men are influenced by public loans; one of them wish to secure the principal and interest of the money, which they have lent to government; and the other, wish to obtain a part of the money, which the government has borrowed. This double influence, it was supposed,

would strengthen the chains of slavery; and through all the fluctuations of public sentiment, hold mankind in subjection to tyranny. Thus national debt is one means, among many others, of creating or strengthening monarchy. It is a very powerful expedient, and ought to be carefully obviated. Men who have an interest in government different from that of the community, are too apt to support it though the greatest injustice be exercised on their fellow citizens. It is by artfully combining the present, pecuniary or imaginary interests of a few men in support of government, that monarchy, war, and contention, has been perpetnated in the world, at the expense of social confidence and felicity.

Thus it must appear, that war is contrary to the interests of the people, even upon the supposition, that they are, and always must be, subject to monarchy. But the greatest loss which the people sustains by war, has not yet been mentioned. I mean the loss of their freedom, or the power of obtaining it. When we consider that if it were not through war, they who are free would be able to preserve their freedom; and they who are enslaved to break their chains, then we shall be convinced, that war is vastly inimical to the interest of every nation, and to the whole family of mankind. Now, as it is always the will or intention of the people to pursue their interest, at least, as far as justice will permit, and as it is evidently their interest to live in peace, therefore war could never exist, if their will could be fairly expressed and enforced, under the rules of a good constitution; or if they were not deceived or restrained by defective or arbitrary governments. For where a perfect form of government exists, the people are *free and enlightened*: and their will governs the nation.

Consequently, when such governments shall be universal, as the people will be enlightened, they will know their own interest, and as they will be free, they will pursue it; and therefore, as war is not their interest, war must cease to exist.

NOTE 124. The liberty of a nation, never was, nor ever can be, entirely destroyed, without the aid of a military force. Hence, as long as a military force shall be necessary for self defence, it is of the greatest importance to devise some method by which the military may be checked; or kept in obedience to the civil authority. This can only be done by a militia. And in the present state of the world, a militia is essentially necessary, for the protection of liberty and democracy.

Officers should be regularly elected, and kept in commission; and the people completely furnished with arms. But it does not appear, to me, to be proper, to compel the militia to meet, merely for the purpose of exercise.

It is difficult to make a man learn any art against his will. And, if they will not attend voluntarily, they will soon forget what little they will learn. Besides, many who are able to pay their fine will not attend; and the few who do, will be disgusted with the smallness of their number; and by being compelled to exercise will be disposed to receive prejudices against the service; and the government which requires it. Therefore, by imposing the penalty of fine on the militia for not attending to exercise, one class will not attend; and the other, by being prejudiced against the government, will be less faithful in times of danger. However, if it be proper to appoint any time, by law, for exercise, one day in the year would be as useful as twenty, and as

swer the same purpose. To men in business, time is very valuable; and therefore they ought not to be required to spend their time uselessly; nor subjected to any unnecessary or useless services.

Whenever it shall become necessary to call the militia into actual service, they will learn as much in two weeks, as they could remember from any former instruction. Nay, many of them will learn as much in one day, as they could remember from one year to other.

They ought to be paid, but paid moderately, for all the time and trouble, which the discharge of malitia duties necessarily require, in order that good men may be able to serve, and that bad men may not be tempted to enter into the service, for the love of gain.

Perhaps, in time of war, an army of reserve, divided into small bodies, quartered at a little distance from each other, under the care of majors or inferiour officers, and under the direction of the legislature, would be a useful auxiliary to the militia. Such a force may be serviceable to assist the militia, either in checking a militant army, if it be victorious and unfaithful; or in opposing an enemy if a militant army be overcome.

NOTE 125. When men who have been corrupted in a camp, are permitted to visit their friends and acquaintance, they carry their vices and evil habits with them; and, as they were brought together from a great many different places, and return to those places again, a great many persons are corrupted by their evil communications. So when troops are disbanded, that servility or meanness of spirit, which arises from the habits and condition of a soldier, is carried with them *to their places of* abode. Accustomed to submit to the

will of others, they lose the spirit of freemen, and the ideas of equality; and are not only qualified to corrupt others, but to become the tools of any villain, who will flatter them with the hopes of reward. In this way, a whole country, as well as the districts in which troops are quartered, may be depraved by the vices which are ingendered in camps. Moreover, the people, when they are reduced by the expenses of war, naturally grow more dependent, servile, and timorous; and many of them from want, or the fear of it, are tempted to exchange their virtue, neglect their duty, or become subservient to vicious men, for the sake of gain. Others are seduced by the prevalence of rapacity, or the frequency and supposed success of injustice. In short, war operates in such a variety of ways, in corrupting and debasing mankind, that it would be difficulty, if not impossible, to trace it through all its operations; or to give an adequate idea of its effects.

NOTE 126 Whenever those men who love to riot on the spoils of mankind wish to involve two nations in a quarrel, they immediately discover some insult, which if their story be true, it is necessary to resent, for the support of the honour and dignity of the nation. These men begin to whine about national degradation and dishonour; to vilify those who are in favour of peace; and to call on the community to assume a manly tone; and declare war to preserve their national character. They oppose negotiation, and every step which tends to prolong the harmony of the two nations, or produce an amicable settlement of their differences. They make divisions among their fellow citizens; and instigate them by plausible falsehoods, and diplomatic intrigues or deceptions, to rail against the lovers of

peace. They infuse false notions into their minds until the ignorant, from one end of the country to the other, echo their absurdities about wounded honour, and national indignity. They endeavour to destroy the credit of the friends of peace, and of the true interests of their country, by charging them with a partiality for the nation, whom they accuse of insult or aggression. After they have inculcated a general opinion, that the nation whom they wish to fight, has committed some insult or injury, they operate on the prejudices and passions of men, until they have excited a general and enthusiastic animosity, against the supposed aggressor. After which, if any one opposes their infamous designs, he is called a partizan of the enemies of his country; or one who is actuated by foreign influence. If they cannot destroy his credit or character, nor intimidate him, by these slanderous accusations, they excite their tools to commit outrages on his person, in order to terrify him and his supporters, and deter them from any further resistance. They know that if they succeed in suppressing truth on the one side; and in giving a free circulation to falsehood on the other, they will be able to create hostility. For when the people hear many persons asserting that there is a necessity of war; and none contradicting the assertion, they naturally believe what they hear; and cheerfully acquiesce in a measure of supposed or imaginary necessity.

It is not uncommon for those restless and ignorant persons who are so clamorous for war, to boast of the superiority of their own nation, over the one with whom they wish to contend, without any knowledge of the circumstances, or relative strength of the two nations. *A person of* this description was one day boasting of

the superiority of America; and of the exploits which she would perform, in case of a war with Great Britain: saying that we were able to chastise her, both by sea and land; and that he hoped the government would declare war, that he might assist in doing it. A person present, who despised the presumption, ignorance, and impertinence of the man, very deliberately asked him, how many ships of the line Great Britain possessed; what was the amount of her population, and what number of troops she could bring into the field. He said he did not know. He was then asked by the same person, how many frigates had been built, and how many militia men had been enrolled in the United States. He answered, that he could not tell. Then sir, said the querist, how can you tell that America would be so successful in a war with Great Britain? You acknowledge that you are quite ignorant of the resources of the two nations; and, consequently of their comparative power. Yet you presume to censure our government for not declaring war, although you are destitute of that information which they possess, and wich is indispensable in forming a just opinion on the subject. It is owing to the ignorance, rashness, and precipitancy of such men as you; and the villany of others, that nations are so often hurried into all the calamities of ruinous wars. You do not consider that those who fill you with discontent; and instigate you to censure the pacific measures of the administration, are enemies, both to the government and to you; and wish for war, only that they may have an oportunity of acquiring wealth and arbitrary power. *It is* for this purpose, that they talk so much about the *honour* and dignity of the nation. It is for this, that they *clamour* against every pacific overture; and vilify all

who speak in favour of peace; calling them enemies to national honour and dignity. These men have national honour so perpetually in their mouths; and make such a clamour about it, that, if we had no other criterion, we should suppose that it was essential, to the very existence of a nation. But, when we inquire what is meant by national honour, we find that it is a mere phantom, raised to frighten mankind, from the paths of peace. It is for this phantom, which no one can taste, smell, nor feel, it is for this moonshine called national honour, that you are advised to sacrifice a real and substantial good. It is for this, that you are urged to leave your families and friends; and to subject yourselves to the hardships and perils of the field. It is for this, that you are urged to sacrifice the security of your wives, your children, and your property. It is for this, that you are urged to barter the felicities of conjugal and parental affection; to sacrifice your nocternal rest, and that of a whole nation. Yes, it is about the sound of our names in foreign nations, in distant countries; it is about a sound too, which can never reach our ears, that we are stunned with such a prodigious clamour. Yes it is for this sound or shadow, that we are so repeatedly urged to hazard every earthly blessing; and to destroy the repose of millions. Do you not enjoy the necessaries and comforts of life, in security? Yes, said the boaster, I enjoy thank God a tolerable share of the comforts of life; but I wish the government to declare war, to chastise Great Britain for her insolence, and to preserve our national honour. And what, said the querist, is meant by national honour? I do not know exactly, said the boaster, what is meant by *it: but I believe* that it is necessary for every nation *to support their* honour and dignity. Then, said the

querist, you would sacrifice the substantial comforts of life, for the sake of some thing called national honour, without knowing the meaning of it; or whether it be useful or not. I am not well acquainted with the meaning of it, said the boaster; but I think it means, a good name in foreign countries. And what advantage, said the querist, is that name to you? The nation may have a good name; and yet, you may have a bad one; or the nation may have a bad name; and yet, you may have a good one. However, if we enjoy peace, plenty and security at home, it is not material to us, what name we support abroad. But, said the boaster, if we do not support a good name abroad, or if it should he supposed that we have lost our former bravery, and have become tame and cowardly, we should be attacked by other nations, and robbed of our property. Then, said the querist, it seems that the only evil which is to be apprehended, from the loss of national honour, is an attack from some other nation; and, to prevent this attack, you would take the very step which must inevitably lead to it. To prevent war, you would commence war; and to protect the nation from robbery, you would challenge the robbers to the attack.

But you speak of preserving our national honour by a declaration of war: and from this phraseology, or mode of speech, you seem to admit, that we have acquired national honour; and that it still exists: for we cannot preserve, what does not exist. Do you really think that we have any honour to preserve? Yes, answered the boaster, I suppose we have as much honour, as any other nation. Then said the querist, you think that war is necessary to preserve our honour; and that honour is necessary to prevent insult and aggression.

And yet you admit that we have preserved our honour to the present time, and also, that we are insulted and aggrieved. Consequently, it appears, even from your own account, that honour does not produce the effect which you expect from it: and the very argument which you have used to justify a war, is refuted by your own admission, or rather refutes itself. If national honour had been as efficient as you suppose it is, nations which had once acquired it, would have been protected by it from insult or attack. But that was not the case; for all nations, whether honourable or dishonourable, brave or pusillanimous, have been subject to war. This proves that your ideas of the efficacy of national dignity, are entirely fallacious; and your ideas of the cause which produces that dignity, seem to be equally erronious. For we do not respect nations, because they are disposed to fight about trifles; but for their freedom, virtue, and science.

Whenever war becomes necessary for self defence, it is honourable to fight. But when it is undertaken merely to show our spirit or power, it is as dishonourable as the conduct of a bully, who quarrels with every one he meets, that he may have an opportunity of showing his dexterity; or of supporting, what he calls his honour. He thinks it honourable, to resent the slightest insult, or to fight about trifles; but wiser men think it disgraceful; and despise both him and his conduct. So you think that the honour of the nation may be acquired or preserved by war and injustice; or by quarreling about names: but other nations would entertain a very different opinion, and would consider us as a quarrelsome, rapacious people.

Men are too apt to attribute the honour, which is derived from the cause in which a man fights, to the act of fighting. They have observed the respect which has been paid to men for their exploits in war; and they suppose that the same honour is due to every one who is equally successful; whether he fights for the promotion of justice or injustice. But no act can be truly honourable, which is not just. He who unlawfully and causelessly assaults and beats an harmless inoffensive individual, may have great valour and activity; but will any one say, that he can derive any honour from such an infamous action? or if, on receiving an affront or injury from some person, he immoderately beat him, or rob him of his property, will any one covet the honour which he will gain by it? If not, how can it be expected that nations can reap honour from actions, which would be infamous, if committed by an individual? surely, if honesty, clemency, and forbearance, are honourable to an individual, they are no less honourable to a nation. And these qualities, either in nations or individuals, will raise them much higher in the estimation of others than the manifestation of a quarrelsome, resentful, or rapacious disposition. We do not esteem pugnacity or rapacity in others; why should we suppose that they would esteem it us? Be assured sir, that the opinions which you have received, respecting the causes and effects of national character, have been infused into your mind, by insidious conspirators; and that nothing promotes the honour of a community more than the firmness and perseverence, with which they adhere to freedom and justice, or contend with adversity.

It is certain, that dignity does not consist in the opulence, power, or magnitude of a nation, any more than

it does in the wealth, strength, or size of an individual. Several of the Grecian states were smaller and less affluent and powerful than their neighbours, and yet, their dignity was much greater than their's: and they were, and still are, much more admired and celebrated, than contemporary nations. But they were not thus highly esteemed, because they were more quarrelsome or warlike; but because they were more free and virtuous. No community who submit to despotism can possess honour or dignity: because a nation composed of slaves and robbers, cannot be honourable; unless honour consists in slavery or robbery. The truth, however, is, that a nation's honour arises from her civil or rational liberty; and is in exact proportion to that, and its offspring, justice and science. But those men, who talk the most about national dignity, have the least regard for it; or they would not urge the people to those steps, which would most probably lead to monarchy; and thereby to its total extinction. But by loudly professing a regard for it, they hope to obtain popularity, and create wars: and by these means, they expect to establish their own honour, while they destroy that of the nation. But, unfortunately for them, as well as for the community, while they destroy the one, they lose the other.

Thus all these stories and alarms, about national honour have originated from scoundrels, who use them for the purpose of giving a general excitement to the people. But in this country, the impulse which they endeavour to communicate, is repulsed by general information and free discussion: otherwise, the enthusiasm which you seem to feel, and which often actuates the slaves of monarchy, would spring from an unresisted impulse, *given by the same* class of men; and would pervade

the country, until it would become as dangerous to expose falsehoods, invented to impose on us, as it has been to expose those, which were used to impose upon others. The very men who began this clamour, about the honour of this country, would be the last to risk their lives in its defence. Self love is the power which moves them; and if enemies approach, they will be the first to sneak from the post of danger, and to leave their country to those calamities, which they were the first to bring upon her.

To involve the country in the horrors of war, for the purpose of preserving our honour; or indeed, for any purpose whatever, except it be in self defence, must be, at all times, an extreme folly. Honour cannot be preserved by such means; and whenever war is declared against us, or becomes inevitable, we shall be as able to defend ourselves, as we should be, if war had been declared by us, for that purpose.

NOTE 127. In a former note, I have demonstrated that peace is the true interest of all nations, and all people. And if I show, as I think I shall, that a people, habituated to the most perfect form of democracy, will discover their true interest; then I show, that whenever perfect democratical constitutions are established in all nations, war will cease to disturb them: and when war ceases, there will be no cause, sufficiently powerful, to destroy the perfection of political institutions.

In every government which is called a democracy, freedom of discussion must be allowed; or it is not a democracy. And wherever free discusson is permitted, the people must necessarily learn an interest, which is so obvious as that of peace: for wherever there is many people, there will be different opinions: different opini-

ons naturally lead to a discussion ; and if the people are free, their disquisitions will be free : and in those disquisitions, they will hear the demonstrations of truth. The deduction of plain truths cannot be misunderstood and when a truth so evident, as the interest which th people have in the prevention of war, is demonstrated, the people will easily comprehend it. When they thus discover the advantages of peace, unless justice or force restrain them, they will undoubtedly adhere to so strong a motive as that of interest : and in democracy, force cannot restrain the majority; nor justice ever forbid them to preserve peace. Therefore, when democracy is established in all nations, peace and amity between them, will perpetually and universally prevail.

When we reflect on the political condition of Europe, and other parts of the world, we cannot be much surprised at the wars, which have hitherto destroyed the happiness of nations. For monarchs have governed the greater part of the world ; and it has been their constant policy, to implant and perpetuate, in the minds of their subjects, prejudices and animosities, against the people of other nations; and a belief that other nations were inimical to them. Actuated by these prejudices, they have been too often predisposed, to second the motions of the court, in measures which were hostile to their supposed enemies. And even if war be proposed as no one dares to oppose it, they are easily induced to give it their support, without considering, that it is never undertaken for their benefit; and often ends in their destruction. Thus, where no one is permitted to declare the truth, ignorant men are frequently made the dupes of that policy, to which they are afterwards sacrificed. But, when monarchy is universally abolished,

mankind will perceive their true interest; and then democratical constitutions cannot be endangered by war.

NOTE 128. Swirl is used to convey an idea of that nose, which snowy tempests make, in passing through the branches of woods or trees.

NOTE 129. The science of politicks or government, is the science, alluded to in the text. If mankind in general, would devote a small share of their time to the acquisition of useful knoweledge, they would not only acquire information enough for the common purposes of life, but would be able to gain a sufficient portion of political knowledge, to preserve their freedom; and, thereby, to save the countless millions, which are now destroyed, or uselessly squandered by arbitrary governments. A citizen of a free state, may obtain a better subsistence from the employment of half the time than a subject of monarchy can acquire from the whole. Instead of sustaining a loss, therefore, by devoting some attention to politicks, we save, besides security and harmony, nearly fifty per cent. Some may suppose, that by this calculation I have made the savings by the protection of our rights, or prevention of monarchy, amount to too large a proportion. But it is, in reality, a very moderate calculation: for the immense quantity of wealth and property, which is amassed, possessed or squandered, by princes and their minions, in whatever manner it may be obtained, must all be, in some way, extorted from the people: because there is no other source in existence, from which it can be obtained.

NOTE 130. Some people think it so meritorious, to be exclusively employed with their own private business, that we frequently hear them exclaiming, with an air of triumph, that they attend to their own business;

and do not trouble themselves, about news papers, politics, or public affairs. These people think themselves very cunning: but the first remark which presents itself, on hearing such exclamations, is, that they do not know their own business; or, if they do, they leave it for others to transact. And, if they are too foolish to know their own business, or too knavish to attend to it, they must be a very rediculous or despicable sort of people.

The mariner who refuses to assist in saving the vessel from sinking, neglects his own business; and imposes a harder task upon others. So whoever omits his public duty, or refuses to assist in saving the vessel of state, or in preserving the liberty and happiness of his country, neglects his own business; and increases the difficulty of his fellow citizens. If a sailor sat down to mend his clothes, while the vessel which carried him, was in danger of shipwreck, how rediculous would he appear, when the rest of the crew requested his assistance, if he replyed that he was attending to his own concerns; and would not trouble himself about theirs, or the vessel. Yet just so ridiculous or despisable must he appear, who thinks of his private affairs only; and devotes no time nor attention, to the affairs of the public. For what would become of the mariners business, if the vessel which bore him sank; or of the plodders business if his country were subdued or enslaved. Some of those who act in this way, may, perhaps, suppose, that the vessel of state will be saved without their assistance; and that, while others appropriate a part of their time to the public, and to them, they will devote theirs exclusively to themselves; and by these means, not only receive a share of anothers labour, but the whole *produce of* their own. They may suppose that

they can enjoy that freedom and security which proceeds from the labour of others without insisting in its support. But in this supposition they have heretofore been always disappointed. For all former nations have lost their liberty, by the neglect or dishonesty of this class of men; and if this were not the case, or whatever may be the fate of future nations, I will venture to say, that no man can add to his happiness by such conduct. However, to say the least of them, they who refuse or neglect to contribute their share of attention, for the public welfare, while they receive the benefits of freedom and consequently of anothers labour, are common spungers, who live, by dishonestly spunging on the patriots of their country.

NOTE 131. Although I alledge that wealth is often obtained by dishonest means, the allegation is not made from any want of a proper respect for the affluent. But lest it should be supposed that I have not that respect which is due, I take this opportunity to state explicitly, that I have no wish nor intention to say any thing, which is derogatory or injurious to them. I know that many of them are honest and honourable men: and I should regret it extremely, if they should misapprehend the design of the text; or suppose that I entertain any prejudices against them. The object of the text, is, to shew, that those who are not rich, have in the community, that which is as valuable to them, as wealth is to the wealthy; that every man, whether rich or poor, is, a member of the community; that the right of every member is politically equal; and that the happiness of both rich and poor, consists in the preservation of that political equality.

Every one knows that wealth is often obtained by dis-

honest means. But I have stated the proposition, merely to infer that the value of that part of wealth, which is honestly obtained, (and we can calculate no more,) is not equal to the value of labour. In order to deduce this conclusion, we are to consider, that the whole amount of wealth or property is produced by labour: and therefore cannot exceed, in value, that which produces it. And, if the whole amount is not more than equal, it follows that, when that part which is fraudulently obtained is deducted, the value of the residue, will be less than equal to the value of labour. In comparing the wealth of the rich, with the toil of the poor, it must be evident that we ought not to calculate, that portion of wealth which was unjustly acquired: because whatever has been procured in that way does not belong to the possessor: and if it be weighed at all, it must be weighed as the property of those only, from whom it was dishonestly taken. No man can derive a right, justification, or advantage, from his own wrong: and, hence, we cannot consider as the property of any class, that which they have unjustly acquired. If a man who had obtained an estate by robbery should say, that he had riches: and therefore, was entitled to as great or greater privileges in the community, than an honest labourer; would any just men, acquainted with the circumstances, admit his claim? or would they admit the estate to be an equivolent for another man's labour! most certainly they would not: for, in reality, the estate would not belong to him, and could not be valued as his property. It could not be placed in the opposite scale against labour: for the possessor had rendered no service for it. Besides, it might, perhaps, belong to the labourer; and therefore ought not to be *weighed* against him.

As to the dishonesty of rich and poor, they are generally supposed to be much alike. There are some virtuous men in both classes: but the general opinion is that the class which possesses a mediocrity of wealth, is less carrupt than either of the others.

NOTE. 132. It is very certain, that a due and adequate reward, would be paid for every kind of care or labour, if men were not subject to arbitrary government, nor partial laws. If they were left free to make their own contracts, and not forced by that necessity or want, which is occasioned by the impositions of monarchy, they would not labour unless they received a reward, which was equal to their services: and that reward would be in exact proportion to the quantity of property and labour in the country. It is evident and well known, that markets make the best regulations for themselves, with respect to prices; and that the price of produce is always proportional to the quantity in market, and the number of buyers. And, in a free country, the price of labour regulates itself in the same way, by the quantity of property, and number of employers. For instance, if there were three persons, who wished to employ, and but one who wished to be employed; the latter could obtain more than he could, if there were three who wished to be employed, and but one who wished to employ them. For if three persons applied to a workman or tradesman, for his work, the one to whom the work would be the most advantageous, must offer more than either of the others, to procure it. Yet, as the work would be more valuable to him than to the others, the workman, if he performed it, would be entitled to receive the value of it. But if the nation possessed less property, there would be a smaller number of

employers, and more workmen : and the latter, if the property of the community was less, could not reasonably expect to receive as large a share for their work. But they would be able to obtain, by their own contract, if they were not oppressed nor restricted by arbitrary governments, a sum, just proportioned to the population and intrinsic property of the nation. This they would have a right to expect: for if their employers received the same proportion, when they accumulated their property, they ought not to prevent others from receiving as large a share or compensation for their labour, as they theirselves received for similar services. But, when wages are limited by law, or by combinations of arbitrary men, they who labour are excluded from a just compensation for their toil ; and from their share of the advantages of society. So, when they are oppressed by heavy or unequal taxes, they are robbed or unjustly deprived of their wages: because if a duty of twenty five per cent. be laid on such articles as are necessary for them or their families, this duty is, in effect, a deduction of twenty five per cent from their wages; and will go, perhaps, into the pockets of the very persons, from whom they received it as a part of their compensation for labour. For instance, if a store keeper pay one dollar for a bushel of salt ; and also pay a duty on it of twenty five per cent ; he will charge when he retails it, at least one dollar and twenty five cents per bushel. Consequently the labourer, when he comes to buy, will be obliged to pay twenty five cents more, for a bushel of salt, than he would be compelled to pay, if no duty had been laid on that article.

If, besides the duty of twenty five per cent, the subject be obliged to pay ten per cent in personal taxes ;

ten per cent in tithes; and be compelled, by oppression and want, to work for tent per cent. less, than the value of his labour; then, fifty five per cent., more than one half of the wages which are due to honest labour, would be cruelly seized or withheld, to pamper the vicious, and the idle; to satiate the insatiable; or gratify the whims of a monarch.

Where taxes are raised, by duties on the produce of the soil or domestic labour, he who has a family, and is, therefore, the least able to pay, pays more tax than he who has none: for his children must have food and clothing; and the duties which are laid on whatever they eat or wear he is obliged to pay. Besides the poor man who works for his bread, requires, at least as much food as he who lives without labour; and yet, if he eat as much, he is compelled to pay as much duty, although he is poor, as the richest man in the community: whereas, every man's tax ought to be in proporition to his property. Indeed, the nobility can use their own produce, and hence are, in many instances, exempt from duties, which those who have less property, are subject to pay; but if they were not so exempt; if the money comes into their n ow hands again, it is only a payment to the mselves; and the money, or at least, a part of it, does come into their own hands again, wherever this kind of tax is imposed: for they generally compose the retinue of monarchs; and, by their servility and meanness, derive a considerable share of the emoluments of government: otherwise if they derived no profit from it, they would not be in favour of this iniquitous mode of taxation. Thus, the methods taken in monarchies to accumulate and perpetuate vast estates, in the hands of a few men, enables those few to force the industrious, by various tricks and

devices, and by actual want, to labour for less than a compensation; and, afterwards, to deprive them of a great part of the trifle which they receive, leaving them much less than their due share of the comforts of life. Not only the poorest class of people, but every class, except the few who receive large salaries, must lose by these wicked arts of monarchical government.

If the people were wise they would rather be taxed directly than indirectly. Direct taxes would operate more equally; their amount could be more easily ascertained; and there would be stronger inducements to inquire into the ends and objects for which they were appropriated: because they could not be increased, without being immediately felt. Hence, a regard for their own interests would induce the people to investigate the cause of every augmentation of their taxes; and if they found that such augmentation was unnecessary, they would cerrect the evil before it was too late. They would also avoid the danger and expense, arising from a great number of excise officers, and servile dependents on govenment. Mercenary tools are always sufficiently numerous without creating sinecures or useless officers: and in proportion as unnecessary officers are increased, a government becomes more costly, complicated and unwieldly; and more dangerous to the liberties of the community. But in addition to all the other advantages of direct taxation, it prevents the vicious and the artful from avoiding their share of the burthens of the state: for a direct tax, being a tax on every man's visible property, he has no means to avoid it. But when the revenue is raised by indirect taxes, the dishonest would elude, by fraud or perjury, those duties *which the conscientious* would feel themselves bound to

pay. Consequently this mode of raising money would rob the best part of the community to give to the worst: would exempt the vicious from those burthens which better men would be obliged to bear; and would subject the world to the government of the bad instead of the good.

NOTE 133. See the story of Damon and Pythias.

NOTE 134. In monarchies, the rights of men are never mentioned, except in derision; and every individual, whether rich or poor, is subject to the will of one man. Yet, notwithstanding this slavish condition of the subjects of monarchy, we frequently hear the wealthy, while they enjoy the freedom of democracy, exclaiming against the equality of suffrages and alleging that property is not represented as it ought to be. They complain that men who are worth millions have no more votes, than he who is not worth a cent, and who has nothing at stake in the community. Their complaints may appear plausible to some; but if any one who is capable, will take the trouble to examine them, they will be found to be deceitful and fallacious. To complain that men are not allowed a number of votes, proportioned to the quantity of their property, is as silly as to complain, that tyranny does not exist: for to tolerate such an inequality of suffrage, would be to establish monarchy, almost as soon as it was tolerated. Every man of any sense must have observed, that wealth has too much influence in society, without the aid of suffrage or direct representation. By means of its influence, it is more fully represented, though indirectly, or without suffrage, than the rights of those who are not wealthy are with it. So sensible, indeed, have mankind been of its undue influence, that it is commonly, and even proverbially said,

that money is the root of all evil. If money is the root of all evil, it must be highly presumptuous for any of those who possess it, to ask their fellow citizens to increase its baneful influence, by the infraction of equal rights. But we so frequently hear the wealthy man, who has nothing but his wealth to recommend him, claiming for himself greater priviledges, than he is willing to allow to others, that it may not be improper to inquire, more particularly, into the foundation of his claim, lest the boldness of his pretentions, or the impudence with which they are asserted, should impose on the ignorant and credulous. The whole foundation of this arrogant claim is falsehood: for it must be founded on one, or more, of the following assertions: that is, either that they who are not rich have nothing as valuable to risk; or are not as faithful, or as serviceable to the community as the affluent.

In considering the value of property, I shall only consider its value in relation to those who possess it. This relative value is all that is pertinent to the present subject: and if we compare it, we shall find, that they who are not rich, have, if they enjoy their freedom, more than the affluent. This may appear paradoxical at first, but it is, notwithstanding, true. Freemen, though they are not wealthy, have a right to the intrinsic value of their labour; and this, for the term of life, would amount, if it were accumulated, to a competency. So that although they have not the actual possession of wealth, they are entitled, by their industry, to a sum, equal to the interest or income of a competency, and a right to perpetual interest, is equal to a right to the principal. But it is unnecessary to occupy more of the reader's *time, on the* comparative value of labour and property.

The view which I have taken of it already, (See note 130) is sufficient to show, that labour, or the right to the just reward of it, is, at least, as valuable as riches. But if it be not, why should wealth be represented, will any man give his life for wealth? or will not any man who possesses riches, give them all to save his life? If he would, life, in the estimation of most men, is more valuable than riches. But if he who is not rich have one vote, and he who is, have more, he cannot have less than two. But if he have two, property, although less valuable than life, is equal in its representation. Indeed, if property have any claim to representation, it ought to be represented equally, or according to its quantity: (and this is what they who desire the representation of property contend for,) because its claim, if it have any, must be equal; that is, the claim of one forty thousand dollars, must be as good as that of another. Hence, if forty thousand dollars be entitled to two votes, eighty thousand must be entitled to four: and consequently, if some have two votes, others must have more than two; and property would be rated above life. Nay, according to the declarations of the most worthless part of the affluent, life is nothing. They contend, that they who are not rich, ought to be entirely excluded from exercising the right of suffrage. But their assertions are so far from the truth, that I believe it may be manifested, not only that life is more valuable than property; but that life is more valuable to those who are not rich, than to those who are. The man, who through luxury and sensuality, has lost his health or contentment, though he possess millions of wealth, can possess nothing that is *valuable* to himself. For if he be sick, or in pain, he loaths the richest delicacies; and finds the best society

disagreeable. He is thus excluded, by sickness and discontent, from both mental and sensual gratifications; and therefore his life, and all his possessions, must be burthensome and valueless, for he cannot enjoy them. It has long been a settled and general opinion, that the opulent are generally less healthy, less content, less affectionate, and therefore, less happy, than those who are not opulent. Will any one say, that a poor man, who has been deprived of happiness and contentment, by an arbitrary government, has not lost more than a wealthy man can possibly lose, if he be sickly, discontented, and burthened with life? The existence of the latter possesses no value; and his situation can scarcely be made worse. But people who are not opulent, (and these include the poor, and those who possess a medium of wealth,) if they enjoy the most happiness, have the most at stake, or the most value to lose. It is not material what a man possesses in weight or number. The value of his possessions, is all that we are to consider; and he who has the most happiness, has the most value: for happiness is the end of all our pursuits; and therefore it is, by all, considered the most valuable.

The next assertion which may, perhaps, be made to support this arrogant claim, is, that they who are not rich are less faithful to the community, than they who are. But this assertion seems to rest on the one, which I have just examined; and is, therefore, equally false. Our attachment to our present condition, is generally in proportion to the happiness which it affords us: and as those who are not affluent have the most health and contentment, they have the most happiness; and must therefore, be the most attached to the country which *affords it.* But the comparative contentment of these two

classes of people, is not independent of their political condition. If they who are not affluent are enslaved, or deprived of their liberty, they will not, perhaps, be very contented; nor much attached to the country, in which they are enslaved. But this want of attachment however is occasioned, by unjustly debarring them from the exercise of their unalienable rights. And as they who deprive them of their liberty, deprive them of their regard for their country at the same time, the want of this regard, is no argument to justify the wrong which occasioned it. To deprive a man of his privilege of election; and, thereby, of his patriotism; and then to say that it is just to withhold the one, because he is destitute of the other, is a strange sort of justification, if we had robbed a man of his property; and, thereby, made him our enemy, we might, with as much propriety, say that we had a right to retain his property, because he was our enemy.

Although the poor, or rather the industrious, are often very illiberally charged with a disregard of their country; nevertheless, I think it must plainly appear that wherever this disregard occurs, it arises from oppression. But why stigmatize this class in particular? who are they who have received bribes from foreign governments? who are they who have solicited foreign powers to assist them in oppressing their own countrymen? were they all poor? the poor have but little influence: and if they had more, would not consert schemes to oppress themselves. But let history answer these questions; and it will appear that the most unfaithful to their country, were the proud, influential, and ambitious. These are the men who are always seeking to acquire power, without any regard to the general

welfare of the people. If you allow these men to govern and oppress the rest of the community, they would then, perhaps,be as desirous of avoiding a foreign yoke, as those whom they wish to oppress. But, if they be confined within the limits of justice, they are, at least, as discontented and restless, and as much disposed to form traitorous conexions with the enemies of their country, as any other class. Observe that I am not speaking, at present, of all the wealthy ; but of those only, who are proud and ambitious. If the want of virtue or patriotism be a sufficient reason to justify the exclusion of any class generally, from the exercise of the right of suffrage; both rich and poor may perhaps, be justly excluded. For, agreeably to the general opinion, there is less virtue or patriotism, in either of these classes, than there is in the one which possesses a medium of wealth. And it must be admitted, indeed, that there is much reason to believe, that the latter class are generally more virtuous ; and more firmly attached to the welfare of their country, than either the rich or the poor. It is certain, however, that those who are not rich, if they are not oppressed, are generally more faithful to their country, than they who are most apt to stigmatize them. Because they who are so apt to impute a want of patriotism to all who are not affluent, show, by the injustice and falsehood of the imputation, a desire of obtaining an arbitrary power over them. And men of this arbitrary kind, if they be confined within the bounds of political equality; and not permitted to oppress their fellow citizens; are always the most contentless and seditious; and the most inclined to form conspiricies and foreign connexions, for the purpose of *enslaving* the people. However no class ought to be

excluded from the exercise of their rights. Nevertheless, I think it is evident, that if any class ought to be excluded from elections on account of their depravity, the poor ought not to be the only class: for history furnishes abundant testimony to show, that the affluent have as little virtue or patriotism as the poor. However, I hope it will not be supposed that I have the smallest desire to cast reflections on any class, or create any invidious distinctions. All I wish is to make mankind conscious of their equality; and inflexible in its defence. By equality, I do not mean an equality of property; but that political equality which gives to every man an equal privilege to elect, and be elected; and an equal security for life, liberty, and estate. This is what is meant by equality: and not that equal division of property, which knaves have, sometimes, predicted to frighten the ignorant. There can be no reason to apprehend such a division; and wherever such an apprehension has prevailed, it has been excited by the depraved, to impose on the credulous, and create arbitrary power. There has not been an instance of an equal division of property for more than two thousand years. No instance of the kind ever occurred in a democracy; and I believe there never was an instance any where, except in Lacidemonia, and there it was effected by regal power. Property has too much influence, or too strong an affinity, to divide into equal parts. It has a much greater tendency to accumulate in the hands of the few, than to separate among the many. The just, the rich, and those who are influenced by them, will, at all times, amount to a large majority of society; and would never consent to the unjust partition, of the property of the industrious, among the idle, and the prodigal. Hence, as the majority can

always predominate, where there is no royal or military power, such partitions can never take place, except where it is effected, as it was in the instance I mentioned, by the predominance of royalty. Men have been frightened by this scarecrow, without ever considering, that where justice or democracy prevails, property would be in the hands of the major part; and that both justice and interest would induce them to protect it. But I must now leave this digression, and return to the subject.

My next task is, to refute the third and last assertion by shewing, that they who are not rich are no less serviceable to the state, than they who are. This is so obvious and plain that it is difficult to make it more so by argument. People who are not rich must support themselves by the fruit of their industry; and consequently, must be labouring daily in the service of the community: for it is their industry which supplies the community with the necessaries of life.

But what service do the affluent render to the state? it is notorious that many of them live in indolence, and are wholly occupied with their pleasures. If they follow no kind of business, what advantage can the public derive from their existence? Is it an advantage to the public, to squander their patrimonial estates? Those estates would exist, if the prodigal owners of them, had never been begotten; and the community would receive as much benefit from them; and probably more, if they had descended to other hands. Some people imagine, that the prodigal who spends an inheritance, or an estate which he has obtained without useful industry, does some good; because he squanders his wealth; and *puts it into circulation*. But this is a very erroneus opini-

on. For no man can render any service to society, except it be by manual or mental industry. When the prodigal squanders his inheritance, he receives an equivolent for it: which equivolent he wastes or destroys in sensual and useless gratifications. Thus if he purchase a quantity of provision, and waste it; he takes it, from the property within the community; but he adds nothing to the aggregate of national wealth: for he is not the means by which the community gain the property which he exchanges for the provision, that property was not accumulated by him, was in existence before him, would be in the community without him, and might be in hands which would make a much better use of it. So if he employ a number of people, in waiting, washing, cooking, making, or building; if the fruit of their labour be superfluous or useless, the labour, or the wages which are paid for it, are lost: for he rendered no service for the property when he obtained it; and the dissipation of it produces no good. But, if it be saved, the community may receive the benefit of it; or if it be distributed to keep people usefully employed, those people derive the same benefit from the expenditure of it; while their labour produces an equivolent. But if they are uselessly occupied, no equivolent is produced. So that the community must lose by the wealthy prodigal, who has done nothing for his estate, as much, either in labour or property, as he squanders, or pays to persons who are thus uselessly employed.

I think it must now appear evident, that no one can be serviceable in society, unless he employ, either his hands or his head in some useful persuit; and therefore that the wealthy man, who lives in idleness, renders no ser-

vice to the community: but that, on the contrary, though he possess the greatest estate, the community must lose by him, at least as much as he requires to support him: and that the property in the community, would amount to that much more, if he had never existed: because he does nothing to create or produce property; and whatever he eats, wears, or wastes, must be the fruit of other men's labour. However, a man who possesses both wealth and integrity, may be a most useful man in society. His wealth gives him the power to be useful: and, if he make a proper use of it, and exert his influence for the preservation of the liberty and happiness of mankind, he may, without manual labour, render the greatest service to the community. But, unfortunately for mankind, many of those who can do the most good, do the least. Their minds are too little, too frivolous, or too much influenced by the disgustful pride of distinction, to study, or employ their means to meliorate the condition of the human race.

Thus, whether we consider service, patriotism, or value of property, it must appear that they who are not rich, have as good a claim to the enjoyment of the right of suffrage, as they who are.

All men come into the world with an equal title to independence: and property cannot justly give any one any additional power over the life of another: Yet, if it gives him more votes, it gives him more power: and that power is to affect, the lives and property of others. Certainly unless power be right I cannot be justly deprived of my equal independence, or natural equally without my own act or consent. But the accumulation of property by another, is not my act: and

therefore ought not to effect me. Even if he gain his property, by dealing or trading with me: yet, as I do not grant with the property, or by the contract, any additional right of suffrage, or power over me, if he make use of his riches to acquire it, he takes that which he is not entitled to by the contract: and thus, by making a wicked use of what I agreed that he should have, he robs me of that which I never granted; and of that, too, which is more valuable to me than any thing beside.

As I observed before it has long been admitted that the affluent, are generally the most discontented with their condition: and I will venture to affirm, that their discontent is greater, and their security less, in a monarchy, than they are in a democracy. Yet too many of them are foolish enough to desire, the establishment of monarchical government. They all wish to be highest and, as that is impossible, they are all discontented. If they knew their happiest condition, they would not wish to debar any class, from exercising the right of suffrage: for the security of all is the security of each: and nothing but the influence of those who are not rich and ambitious, can, through the means of political equality, prevent those who are from destroying each other, for the sake of power, or sensual gratification. While they live under a monarchy, they and their estates are subject to the controul of a haughty master. But while they support democracy, they have no superior. Their lives are secure; and their estates are protected from unjust confiscation. What more can they ask? If they cannot be satisfied with such a state of things, would they be satisfied with any other? Would they be satisfied, with a master? would they be satisfied, after they had des-

troyed their own liberties; and the liberties of their country? If they desire titles; the greatest title which can be acquired, is that of a freeman: and he whom this cannot satisfy nothing can. The titles which are derived from monarchs, are generally the reward of servility or wickedness. They are, therefore, no proof of merit: and, if they are no criterion or mark of excellence, they are not honourable. Indeed, as they are seldom given to any but the unworthy, the presumption which arises from them, must be, that they who possess them are dishonourable men; and that all their merit consists in a piece of parchment, which was obtained by baseness or atrocity. Let the haughty slave who can trace his descent, through a long line of cringing ancestors, boast of his titles and his family. If he can give no other evidence of his worth, than a piece of paper, which was probably obtained from a fool, by some base service he can have but little to boast of: and when he beholds the king his master, and reflects on his abject condition; when he reflects that his master, can take his life and his property whenever he pleases; he must envy the man who is free. I would not exchange my title to freedom, for all the titles that kings have ever conferred: and he is a fool who would.

NOTE 135. If the act of voting was not to govern or affect any but the voter, he would have a right to sell his vote, for any price which he should think proper. But as it is, he who sells his vote, in effect, sells his services to a gang of robbers, for the very purpose of enslaving, robbing, and murdering, his fellow men. How such an act can be viewed with indifference or unconcern, it is difficult to tell. But I am confident that he who would commit it, knowing its consequences, or

that thraldom would ensue, would, in some circumstances, if he were not afraid of punishment, steal a horse, or commit murder.

NOTE 186. The subversion of nation's liberty, is, indubitably, the most enormous crime which can possibly be committed. Every honest man, who is capable of perceiving all its consequences, would not hesitate to admit, that even murder itself, although a very atrocious crime, is in comparison to it, but a small offence. From the destruction of civil liberty, a vast number of the most cruel murders must necessarily follow: and, if this were not the case, to render a man miserable as long as he lives, is worse than to take his life; because life is valuable only for the happiness which it affords: and if it affords nothing but misery, why should we wish to endure or prolong misery? Whatever the principles of self preservation may prompt us to do, life on such conditions is a misfortune: and therefore to render a people and their posterity miserable, by the subversion of their liberty, is more atrocious than to deprive them of their lives. But for the various consequences of this enormous offence, I must refer generally to other parts of this work.

NOTE 137. That mode of election, which would most effectually guard against deception, and enable every man to vote with the greatest secrecy, ought to be preferred. Secrecy may, in many cases, destroy the influence of hope and fear, and render men more independent. For this reason, voting by ballot, under proper regulations, is undoubtedly, the best mode which could be adopted.

NOTE 138. Every government that levies a tax, which was not laid by the majority of the people or their

representatives, robs the people of their property. For if they have not authorized the government to lay a tax, it can have no authority to do it; because a majority of the community is the only power on earth, from which any legitimate authority can be derived. Hence, every monarch who exacts a tax from his subjects, robs them of their property, for he can shew no authority to take it: and surely if a man comes and seizes my money, without my consent, and without any authority from the people, he robs me of it. For in deciding whether an act be robbery or not, it is not necessary to inquire what the thief calls himself, nor the act which he commits. If he deprives me, either through fear or force, of any part of my property, without being duly authorized by the community, he is certainly guilty of robbery. He may allege that he has a divine right, may call what he has seized a tax, and himself a monarch, but this would not alter the nature of the action. If it would, any thief might exculpate himself in the same way. If we should inquire what would be sufficient legally to convict or acquit a man who was on his trial for this offence, we should be convinced of the truth of these remarks. Robbery is the act of taking a man's property by violence, or by exciting his fear, without proper authority, and without any intention of returning it. If a man, who was arraigned for taking property in this way, should admit the act of taking, and allege that he was duly authorized, would his mere allegation be sufficient to avoid conviction? or would not the court require him to show some proof of his authority? and if he said that he had a divine right; would the court, however superstitious, listen to such an excuse, or be satisfied without proof? If a court of justice would admit a man's own declara-

tion as a proof of his authority, no culprit need be afraid of condemnation: for one robber could allege a divine right as easily as another; or if it would be sufficient to save him, he could call what he had taken, a tax, with no less facility. But it would be superfluous to dwell any longer on this subject. I think it must now be sufficiently evident, that if a king be not properly authorized by the community, he can have no more right to levy a tax than any other man: and there is not a king in existence, who can show any legal authority to take a cent from his subjects. Even the government of Great Britain, though it is called a limited monarchy, robs the people of that country, annually, of an immense sum of money. It is true the statutes, for the imposition of new taxes, have generally originated in the house of Commons. But they are, nevertheless, illegal; for the one half of the people are unequally represented; and the other half are not represented at all. But if all the people of Great Britain were permitted to vote for members of the house of Commons, still the government would be unjust; for the king and the house of lords, compose two thirds, or two branches of Parliament; and the house of Commons can make no law without the royal assent. Indeed, as long as the king exists, every act of the house of Commons, must be considered as his act. For by means of bribery and corruption, he has almost constantly kept a majority in that house, who can only be viewed, as the tools, by which his will is executed. The king, therefore governs Great Britain; and as he has no authority from the people, every act of that government is illegal, and the imposition of taxes, by such a government, is robbery.

NOTE 139. Those slanderous sycophants who wait about the persons of monarchs, must always be discontented: for they must be hateful to each other, because they know each other's baseness; and when they retire, and reflect on their infamous conduct, they must be hateful even to themselves. They cannot lay very easy on their pillows, if they have any sensibility; and if they have none, they cannot enjoy much pleasure any where else. They may appear with exterior splendour; but let none be seduced by their appearance. The splendour is not only inferior, and, therefore, not relished; but it is the bane of their happiness; and frequently the lure to their destruction.

NOTE 140. The useless pyramids, temples, and palaces, the artificial lakes, rocks, and mountains; and the destruction of towns, cities, and citizens, which kings have caused, in different parts of the world, clearly demonstrate the folly and wickedness of royal minds. How such a union of all that is abominable and base in human nature, could ever be supposed to be great, it is difficult to imagine. It is said that Cheops king of Egypt, employed 100,000 men, for twenty years, in building one single pyramid; exclusive of those who were occupied in quarrying and hewing stone, making roads, and conveying materials to the place. The 100,000 men were relieved or sent home every three months, and as many more called out: and from an inscription on the pyramid, it appears, that 1600 talents of silver were expended in purchasing garlic, onions, and radishes for the workmen, while they were employed in that useless work. And as the inscription must have been intended to show the expense of the building, we *must infer* that these vegetables were their only diet and

compensation. Such is the folly of monarchs; yet these miscreants, without one valuable property to merit them, have generally arrogated the highest appellations.

NOTE 141 .Different memories, certainly have different capacities. Some hold more, and some less: and like a vessel of water, when they are once full, their contents cannot be increased. For if you attempt to put more in, part of that which is in, will be forced out. But the ideas which are contained in the memory, may be exchanged for an equal number of different ideas: for one idea requires no more room in the mind, than another. The idea of blue requires no more space than the idea of red. And as a bushel is capable of containing equal quantities of wheat or rye, so the memory is quite as capable of containing equal quantities of frivolous or important ideas. Therefore, if all the frivolous ideas which are contained in the minds of men, were emptied out, they would be capable of receiving an equal number of ideas, on the the most important subjects: consequently, whether all men of common sense be capable of acquiring a general knowledge of every science or not, they are able to acquire as much knowledge of any one, as can be practically useful. The number of frivolous and useless ideas, which every man of common sense possesses, is greater, perhaps, than the number of useful ideas, contained in the science of politics. Hence if all men would exchange the former for the latter, or if their minds had been properly directed from childhood, what vast and immeasurable benefit would be derived from it! However, as some may allege that men, in general, are not capable of attaining this science *perfectly*, to prevent all cavills, I will suppose, for a moment *that* they are not. But although they be unable to a-

tain the whole of this science, no one who has any regard for veracity will deny, that they are able to acquire a part of it: and if so, that their minds may be directed to any particular part. It follows, therefore, as all men remember many frivolous things, and in retaining them, certainly retain as many ideas as are comprised in a few principal maxims, that if their minds were directed to the knowledge of these maxims, they would find but little difficulty in obtaining it. The conclusion, therefore, is, that mankind, in general, are capable of acquiring the knowledge of a few principal rules in the science of politicks. And the universal knowledge of these rules, the possibility of which I have thus demonstrated, would raise a perpetual barrier against monarchy; and exclude it, for ever, from amongst men.

The faculties of the mind have been compared to a sheet of white paper. But, if this comparison mean that minds are equally liable to artificial impressions, it is not just. Any impression may be made on white paper with equal facility. But unless men are confined from their infancy in a jail, all their ideas will not be exactly similar. Even if the artificial part of their educations were alike, they would receive different impressions, by meeting with different objects. As their faculties of reason would be different, their conclusions, even if they were drawn from the same ideas, would be in some cases also different. Besides, the impressions which are made on paper, cannot be erased without erasing part of the paper. But ideas may be erased from the mind without destroying it, or rendering it unfit for new impressions. However, if this comparison were just, it would show still more clearly that *there is sufficient* reason to believe that liberty will ex-

tend, and become perpetual, when all mankind shall receive an early and a proper education; for if the mind be like paper, the first impressions cannot be erased nor exchanged; and, therefore, until erronious opinions shall cease to be impressed on the minds of youth by improper educations, mankind will not have arrived at their most perfect state. But I think the faculty of memory may, with as much propriety, be compared to a table or mass of wax. A number of impressions may be made on wax: but when it is full, no more can be made without effacing some of those which are already impressed. So, with respect to the memory; new impressions may be made; but one impression will efface another. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to exclude from the mind every idea which is not useful; in order that it may contain, more of those which are. But ideas, impressed in the early part of life, while the mind is tender and unoccupied, are the deepest and most durable. And therefore a community would derive immense advantages by directing the mind, from its infancy, along the path which would impress the most useful sentiments.

NOTE, 142. The exact time at which the practice of duelling originated cannot, perhaps, be ascertained. But it certainly commenced in the dark ages, when the manners of men were rude and uncivilized. If it had originated in any civilized nation, the history of that nation would have given us an account of it. However, the most probable opinion is, that it was introduced by the nothern barbarians, sometime in the latter part of the fifth, or former part of the sixth, century.

When those barbarians rushed like a torrent on the civilized parts of the world, and took possession of it,

every leader of an army divided the lands which he had conquered; and granted them to his followers, on condition that they would render, when required, such a share of military service; or forfeit the lands which he had granted to them. His chief officers, following the example of their leader, divided the tracts which had been allotted to them, in the same way; and granted them to sub-tenants, to be held, in like manner, on condition of military service. This establishment has been known by the name of the feudal system. And in the institution of this system, we may see how naturally monarchy arises out of war. When the feudal lands were conquered, the armies or people who conquered them, were under the conduct of leaders whom they had chosen, merely to direct their military operations. But when their conquests were made, each leader converted himself, by the influence of his station and these military tenures, into a king, and his officers, into a nobility. From this time, the trade of war was considered as the most honourable profession. Whoever received an insult or injury immediately appealed to the god of battles for redress. And it was from this military spirit, that the trial by wager of battel, or as it is called *vadiatio duelli*, first originated. The precise time and manner of its origination may, perhaps, be subject to some doubt. But the only satisfactory account which can be given, of the manner of its origin, seems to be, that the feudal kings and barons, having obtained their titles by battle, and being unable to justify them by reason, inculcated a belief, that the deity always gave the victory to the one who had the right: and that, therefore, they held their possessions by the decision of providence. And, with respect to the time, it is said that the law,

which first established the trial by wager of battle, or *vadiatio duelli*, was made by Gundebald in the year 501. However, whether it were established at that time or not, it certainly originated in barbarism. And the custom of duelling was either the twin brother, or the offspring, of the trial by battle. Yet this absurd custom, which originated in the darkest ignorance and superstition, has been perpetuated to the present day: and, even at this day, our fopplings seem very unwilling to relinquish, what they seem to consider, as the only means of supporting their imaginary honour.

The judicial combat, or trial by battle, was a mode of settling differences betwen individuals, by setting them to fight a duel, or single combat, under certain regulations prescribed by law. Previously to the engagement the parties took an oath in support of their opposite claims or assertions, and against sorcery and enchantment. The trial by battle, like the trial by ordeal, was founded on the vain and ridiculous belief, that the deity would interpose; and give the victory to the party who had been injured; or had the right to the object in dispute. It was presumptiously imagined, that God would alter the fundamental laws of nature, whenever a petty dispute happened to arise between two individuals.

The trial by ordeal, was either by fire or water. In the fire ordeal, if the person accused could hold a large piece of red hot iron in his hand; or walk barefoot, and blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares, placed longitudinally, at unequal distances; without being hurt, he was acquitted: but, if he was burned, he was condemned. In the water ordeal, the accused either plunged his bare arm up to the elbow in boiling water; or was thrown into a pond of cold water: and if he escap-

ed without being scalded by the hot water, or floated without action in the cold, he was adjudged guilty. But, if he was not scalded, or if he sank, he was acquitted. The nations in which these absurd modes of trial originated, must have been in a very rude state; or they would not have believed, that fire was not fire; or that flesh was not flesh. For, unless fire and flesh were deprived of the essential properties, which are necessary to entitle them to their, respective names, when they come in contac wtith each other, the fire consumes the flesh; and if they were deprived of their essential properties, they would not be fire and flesh. So that unless we believe that fire is fire, and is not fire, or that flesh is flesh, and is not flesh, how can we believe that a man can hold a large piece of red, hot iron in his hand, without being burned? So, unless we believe that the laws of nature are changed, or that skill and strength, are not skill and strength, how can we suppose that they will not have their natural effect in battle? But the opinion that the supreme being will change the laws of nature, to settle the disputes of men, is too absurd to be dwelt on, I shall therefore, leave this digression, and return to the subject of duelling.

Why should any man think himself under an obligation to accept a challenge, or fight a duel? Does fighting a duel give a man courage who has none before? Does it prove that a man possesses courage? or does a refusal to fight, prove that he is destitute of it? All these questions must be answered in the negative. Where cowardice is implanted in the constitution [by nature, it is, perhaps, impossible to remove it. However, a coward may fight a duel, while every nerve in his body is trembling through fear. And as duelling is

no proof of courage ; so neither is a refusal to fight, any proof of the want of it. How are the public to know whether a man who rejects a challenge to fight a duel, be actucated by reason, goodness, or cowardice? If reason and goodness are inconstsient with the custom of duelling, they, at least, exclude a conclusion from the act of refusal. And duelling is, in most cases, so obviously incompatible with goodness, that I shall use no arguments to render its incompatibility more manifest. It is in many cases, no less inconsistent with reason : but its inconsistency may not, perhaps, seem so evident. However, suppose the largest, most vigorous, and dexterous, should challenge the smallest, weakest, and least dexterous, to box or fight with the fists : will any man of common sense infer, if the small man refuse to fight, that he is a coward, because he will not fight with one who, he is probably convinced, could kill him with a single stroke? If he had been challenged to run his head in the fire, it would be no more absurd to infer that he was a coward, if he refused to do it, than it would be to conclude, that he was a coward for refusing to fight, when he was convinced that fighting would be equally fatal. If it would be absurd, to call a man a coward for refusing to box with one, who was so much superior in strength, and dexterity, it would be no less foolish, to call him so, for refusing to fight a duel with one, who possesses superior skill : for there may be as great a difference in the skill of duellers ; as there may be in the skill of boxers : or, with respect to skill, there may be as great a disparity, between persons who are challenged to fight with pistols ; as there can be between those who are challenged to fight with fists. *Why*, then, should a man be called a coward, for refus-

ing to fight with one, who, in his opinion, possesses a greater degree of skill? Perhaps, if he thought the chances were equal, he would exhibit proofs of more bravery, than the one who challenged him. But, although a man possesses the greatest courage and skill could it be expected by any but a fool, that he would place his life in jeopardy, whenever a coxcomb should choose to challenge him? Even if he could, without the least peril, give the proof which every fop thinks he he has a right to demand, he would not be bound to do it. And much less, must be the obligation to satisfy such blockheads, if it must be done by subjecting life, to the smallest danger. A man who has been wronged, ought to apply to the laws of his country for redress. The law wi generally afford the most honourable remedy which he can seek. He may recover his damages, or prove his innocence, in a suit; but he never can do either in a duel: but, instead thereof, he may meet with a greater loss. His innocence can give him no assistance in a duel; and he may be killed by the very person, who has injured him. I can scarcely imagine any thing more ridiculous, than for a man to go out to be shot at, by the very person who had wronged him.

It cannot be reasonably expected that a wise man will fight a duel, unless it be for the purpose of doing more good than evil. If he should lose his own life, the loss would probably outweigh all the good which might be done, by killing a scoundrel. And no other good can possibly arise from duelling, than that which sometimes arises from the destruction of wicked men.

Thus I have shewn, that no man ought to think himself obliged to fight a duel, in support of his honour, even if the chances be equal; because there is danger; and

because that danger is useless. But the chances are never equal: because no two men are exactly alike; or if they be, such a coincidence or concurrence of circumstances happen so seldom, that, although it is possible, it cannot be reckoned. One man may have been learning until he can direct a ball with the greatest certainty; and another may be unable to direct one with any certainty whatever. And where the means or chances are unequal, there can be no reason to call a man a coward, if he refuse to fight. If a small lap dog should attack a large mastiff, the beholder would probably call him a fool. And the duellist must appear to a wise man, just as worthy of that appellation as the lap dog. It may be said, perhaps, that the comparison is not just; that the mastiff can probably destroy the lap dog at a single snap. But so also may the duellist destroy his antagonist at a single shot. And if we cannot expect that a brute would run into certain destruction; how can it be reasonably expected, from a rational being? The man who fights a duel with a marksman, has no more chance of escaping the bullet, than a lap dog, who fights with a mastiff has, of escaping his jaws. And as a small dog, though he run from a dog of greater strength, may, when he meets with a cur of his own size, show more courage than the dog from which he fled; so also a rational being, though he refuse to fight a duel, may show more bravery, when he meets with a proper occasion, in defence of virtue, or his country, than the man who challenged him. Indeed, there is no doubt on the subject: for the duellist is, evidently, not actuated by goodness; or by any regard for others. He thinks only of self, and fights only for self; and therefore he would

not fight, for any consideration, if it were certain that self would be lost.

But after all, even if we admit that duelling is a proof of valour; is valour any proof of honour? It is so far from it, that we may find men who have valour, and men who have not: and the latter shall have more honour, than the former: for he that is destitute of courage, may be a very honourable man; and he who who is as courageous as a tyger, may be a most infamous character. Indeed, the most vulgar, brutal, and insensible of men, who have neither humanity, integrity, understanding, generosity, nor any thing else that is honourable, are generally the most valiant: and every one who is acquainted with human nature, knows, that men who have the least feeling, have, generally, more hardy courage, than men of the greatest sensibility. Why it is so, it it not necessary to explain. But courage is the property of beasts, as well as of men: and it is so little connected with honour, that it is not from the courage which is displayed, but from the cause in which it is displayed, that the whole of the honour or dishonour arises.

Our modern duellists have not as much goodness or reason as the savages, from whom the custom of duelling originated: for those savages were surrounded with the darkness of barbarism: but the modern savages, coxcombs, or duellists, persist in the same custom, amidst the light of civilization. However, he who thinks that it is necessa ry in an elightened age, to live or die by any other rule of honour, than that which goodness and reason dictate, is a blockhead, and will be so consided, by all men of sound judgment.

NOTE 143. I have already attempted to show, that the interest of all mankind is the interest of each and every individual. It is difficult, perhaps, to render this truth obvious to every one; but whoever doubts it will probably be convinced by the immediate or remote consequences of his vices, that he has laboured under a fatal mistake. The modes in which offences, or a departure from honest policy, may opperate on the human system, are so various, subtile, or misterious, that a particular explication of each of them cannot be expected. But I believe it will be found, on a close investigation, that every crime leads the one who commits it, to some evil consequence. One step leads to another: and although the first offence may not carry him far from the path of rectitude, it may lead to a second; the second may lead to a third; the third to a fourth; and as the two divergent lines extend, it may send him at last to a returnless distance from the path which he ought to pursue. When a person violates his conscience, or becomes tainted with guilt, he undergoes a change; and from that time, his judgment or his resolution will be weakened; and he will choose the road which leads to temptations. The first offence, will, in some degree, lessen his abhorrence of guilt; while the difficulty arising from one crime, may seem to force him into another. That character, too, which had before restrained him, may be lost by offence; and the desire of preserving or improving it, can no longer impel him in the path of virtue.

The man who obtains property dishonestly, may think, if he can escape the penalty of the law, that he will not be punished for his dishonesty. But besides some of the effects already mentioned, the very property itself

may punish him, in a variety of modes, for the injury which was done to the persons, from whom it was dishonestly obtained. If he will not resist the temptation of acquiring wealth by improper means, it is not probable that he will resist the many greater temptations, which riches will place in his way. Because, if he is weak and irresolute in the first case, he will certainly be so in the second: hence, the very wealth which he fraudulently obtained, may destroy his health or his happiness by indolence, pride, or ambition; or may lead to excesses distempers and death.

NOTE 144. They who endeavour to justify their conduct, by alleging that monarchy has always existed or that democracy cannot be supported, allege what is not true, or tell a falsehood to cover their wickedness. Monarchy has not always existed; neither is there any reason to believe, that democracy cannot be supported. However, were such allegations true, they would not justify any opposition to democracy; nor any remissness or negligence in its defence. For though it could not endure forever, there would be, notwithstanding, abundant reason to prevent as long as it could possibly be done, the dreadful evil which must necessarily follow its subversion. If it be right to neglect it, because we suppose that it cannot last for ever, it would be right to cut a man's throat for the same reason. But I apprehend that they, who endeavour to palliate the monstrous offence of subverting democracy, by affecting to believe that it cannot be rendered perpetual, would not be willing to be killed, although they cannot be rendered immortal.

But I allege that democracy can be made perpetual, notwithstanding all the allegations of those, who expect

to derive some distinction or emolument, by the inculcation of a different opinion: and of this, I hope to produce conviction, though so much pains have been taken by knaves to create a contrary belief. I do not say that all those who believe the contrary are dishonest: for many of them are deceived. And some of those who conclude that mankind must remain in the same political state, in which they have heretofore continued, forget many important facts; among which none is more important, perhaps, than the discovery of typography, or the art of printing. But, of this and other improvements, I shall say more in the following notes.

NOTE 145. Whoever examines the history of the world, from its earliest date to the present day, must be convinced that mankind are in a progressive state. A vast number of discoveries have been made, of which the ancients had no knowledge. Others are daily made: and with these discoveries, the condition of life must be improved, and knowledge more generally diffused. The inhabitants of the ancient world were but little acquainted with agriculture. Many of them were as savage as the savages of America; and depended almost entirely on their flocks and herds for their subsistence. Even the most civilized of the ancients, were far more rude than the people of modern times; as must appear from their customs, their idolatry, and their ferocity in war. Whenever they made prisoners, they sold them for slaves, or put them to death, in the same manner, that the Algerines or savages do now. So that, in this respect, as well as in many others, the most enlightened nations of antiquity, were as rude as the least enlightened of the present day. The trial by ordeal, by battle, and other equally absurd modes of appealing to heaven

for the decision of causes, and the laws against witches, sorcerers, &c. are a proof of the ignorance and superstition of former times. And the abolition of such abominable customs and opinions, are, no less, a proof of the advancement of human knowledge, and of the progressive state of man. Formerly very few could be found who had any knowledge of letters. But now, very few can be found who are not able to read, write, and cipher. Even bishops and chief officers of state, as late as the fourteenth century, were unable to read, or even to subscribe their names. If it is true that any discoveries or inventions have been made, it fellows as a necessary consequence, that mankind have advanced in knowledge. And, indeed, the advancement of knowledge and civilization is so evident, that it seems unnecessary to spend time, in attempting to render it more so. And if mankind have advanced in knowledge, the long continuance of monarchy, does not prove that it can never be totally abolished. It has been perpetuated by pride and ignorance; and, as ignorance disappears, monarchy must disappear also: for, when the foundation is taken away, the house or superstructure must inevitably fall. If the continuance of royalty prove that it must always continue, the continuance of any absurd custom, proves that it must always continue. But this is not the case: for we see that many absurd customs have continued or prevailed, for many ages successively; and have, nevertheless, been entirely abolished.

Some men are apt to conclude, if a change does not take place immediately, that it never will. But this is a very foolish conclusion. The changes which one nation *must undergo*, before it passes through every pos-

sible condition, may be very numerous, and may occupy many ages; consequently the changes which all nations may pass through, before they all arrive at the same state, at the same time, may be vastly more numerous; and may require an almost infinitely longer time. The number of variations, and the period of time necessary for their accomplishment, would, in this case, bear a certain relation, to the number and extent of the nations of the earth. The difference between the changes of one nation, with respect to itself only, and the number of changes of all nations, with regard to themselves and to each other; and consequently the difference between the period necessary for the performance of the former, and the period uecessary for the performance of the latter, is, as the difference in the result of two terms equally distant, in that rule of arithmetic called permutation. Agreeably to this rule, while the number three will admit of six changes or different positions only, the number 15 will admit of 1307,689,368,000. This astonishing effect of the increase of terms, ought to teach us that we ought never to be discouraged, by the length of time in which error has prevailed. For, in the case of nations, the result must depend, in like manner, on the number of terms; that is, on the number of nations; and the number of mutations in each. Hence we may form some idea of the vast difference, between the time which may be required for the progress of one nation, and that which may be required for the progression of all. One nation may go back, while another comes forward: and therefore, as there are many, it may, or it may not, be an immense length of time, before they all come forward together. However, though it is impossible to

point out the precise time, at which all monarchical governments must cease; yet, from present appearances, it is probably not very distant; and, even if it be distant, the event is certain: for every discovery must have an effect. And even if any one could be lost, it would leave its seed behind it, which would reproduce it, or bring forth others.

It cannot reasonably be expected that evil habits can be very suddenly eradicated. mankind are not made of such pliable stuff. They are extremly tenacious of the habits and opinions, which they have acquired in early life. And, when they are advanced in years, they often reject or ridicule new opinions; and turn their backs to instruction. They instill their own prejudices into the minds of their children; and hence errors descend from age to age. Men who are capable of instructing mankind are seldom permitted to do it: and therefore it must be evident that errors can only be gradually removed. Even if the few who are capable of making improvements, or giving instruction, met with no opposition from the force or artifice of the corrupt, several ages would elapse before so great a task could be accomplished. Even if all the children in the world, could be educated, at the same time, under the best rules and regulations, one century, at least, would pass away, before all mankind would be as firmly attached to truth, and to useful institutons, as they are now to error and to pernicious establishments. Indeed, I believe I shall be correct, if I say, that it would not be possible, even if children were all properly educated at the same time, to remove all the effects of former evil customs in one century. For that which many generations have implanted in the human constitution, will require many

generations to eradicate: and, as the defects of an ancestor may have come to their acme, or may have been increased and strengthened, through the misconduct of several generations; so the effects of his habits may extend to his descendants, through several degrees; and can only be gradually removed. We shall be convinced of the truth of these positions, by an attentive consideration of the nature of the human system; or of the corporial and intellectual parts of a human creature. Previously to its birth, a child can have derived no ideas from its parents; but its disposition to receive, or not to receive impressions, may be the effect of their conduct, or mode of life. Hence it may have certain affections, sympathies or antipathies, which may be great impediments to instruction; and may, in some degree, extend to its offspring. However, ideas impressed in youth are always the most durable; as must appear from the facility and accuracy with which old men can recollect what they have learned in their adolescency, while the ideas which they received but yesterday are forgotten. It also appears from the obstinacy, with which they adhere to the prejudices which they have imbibed in their youth. These prejudices are often pertinaciously retained, as long as they live. Therefore, until the young are all properly instructed, and the old have passed away, prepossesions of error cannot be totally eradicated, and prepossessions of truth planted in their stead. So that mankind could not, by any possibility, be changed to the best possible condition in less than an age; and may not be in less than a thousand: and yet the time may come, and will come, when they shall have as strong a bias for truth, as they have now for error; and when we contemplate

the vast force of prejudices, the prospect of this change must be extremely pleasing to the mind. For if prepossessions of error have been able to resist all the power of reason, for so many ages, prepossessions of truth, would certainly be able to resist falsehood; because, if they were equally strong, and instead of being opposed, were supported by reason, there could be no cause, as error prevailed so long, to doubt their continuance. Hence, as men may be as strongly prepossessed with truth, as they can be with error, when they are universally prepossessed with correct opinions, the triumph of truth will be perpetual.

NOTE 146. A proof of the text may be fairly deduced from the nature of monarchists in general. If a monarchist would slaughter half a nation, for the purpose of placing himself on a throne, his object, in so doing, would be, to acquire the greatest distinction; or make himself, what he would call, the greatest man in the nation. Consequently, if he would destroy millions for the sake of a throne, or the greatest distinction, he would certainly not hesitate to destroy the life of an individual; if the individual was more distinguished for any valuable property, than he was himself. The history of every monarchy justifies this conclusion. Monarchs have generally been unwilling that any man should become the subject of conversation, attention, or applause, besides themselves. Nobody must be thought of, talked of, or celebrated, besides them. They must be every thing, and the rest of mankind nothing, or they are dissatisfied. They have often been alarmed by the renown of their subjects, even when that renown has been of the most frivolous kind. Indeed, their fear, *hatred*, or envy, has been so easily excited, that they

have put many of their subjects to death, merely because those subjects were so unfortunate, as to become the theme of a little praise. Many instances of this might be given: but such a number of monarchs have endeavoured to suppress men of abilities or virtue, that I shall not attempt to enumerate them. I will, however, mention one instance of royal envy; and that may serve as a sample of many others. Cambyses put his brother Smirdis to death, merely because he was the only man in the army, who was able to bend a bow which had been sent by the king of Ethiopia. He could not endure to hear the praise, even of his own brother. This fact, together with many others of a similar nature recorded in history, as well as the nature of monarchists generally, sufficiently prove the truth of the text. Where such a malignant hatred of virtue and talents predominates, we cannot be much astonished at the cessation of improvement. Even if the nations which are subject to monarchal ignorance and envy should revert to a state of barbarism, it could hardly excite our astonishment. See Notes 14 and 54.

NOTE 147 Men who compare the ancient democracies with those of modern times; and conclude that the latter cannot be supported because the former failed; neglect many circumstances, in which they differ materially from each other. Who can discover; among the republics of antiquity, a single example which bears any resemblance to the democratical government of America. Not only their political institutions, but their moral and mental condition, was essentially different from ours. People, in general, had no knowlege of letters: but if they had not been so illiterate, the press was entirely unknown; and the diffi-

culty of communication infinitely greater than it is now Even the art of making paper had not been invented; nor any cheap material for writing discovered. But had the arts of paper making and printing been understood at that time, or in those republics, still if the peoplewere not sufficiently enlightened, or if their forms of government were not good, there was no reason to expect that they would be permanent: especially as they were small; and surrounded with the corruptions of monarchy. A democracy, like a human system, or any thing else, may be too imperfect to last. It may contain the seeds of its own destruction within itself, which if not removed in time, must eventually destroy it. But the failure of one democracy, is no argument to prove the failure of another: for the constitutions of democratical governments, are, at least, as different as the constitutions of men; and the misfortunes of one man, does not prove, that another must meet with a similar fate. The ancient republics, it is true, were subverted. But they left their seeds behind them. And these, when the wintry season had passed away, were not without their effects, in the progressive improvements of mankind.

The government of the United States of America, is certainly very different from any which is mentioned in history. And I will venture to affirm, that her laws, her customs, and her political institutions, are more consistent with reason, than any which have ever existed in the world: and, in addition to this, her citizens have more knowledge and morality, than the citizens of any of the ancient republics. My time will not enable me to make a particular comparison; but let every parti-

cular, relative to ancient and modern governments be

compared; and I feel confident that these assertions will appear correct.

NOTE 148. A federal plan, or constitution is a compact or government, which links a number of states, nations or governments together, merely for their common defence; and the management of their general concerns. It is formed by a delegation of power from each state in the union: and it can have no right to exercise any authority, which has not been expressly granted by the constituent states; nor to make any regulation but those, in which the public and general welfare requires a uniformity. This is the object for which a federal government is formed, and it can have no right to do any thing, except that for which it was created. The individual states or nations which are united by a federal government, are with respect to the powers not granted, sovereign and independent states. A state within a union of states, may be compared to a permanent corporation within a state. It regulates all internal or local affairs; and exercises all the powers of government, which are not inconsistent with the rights of other states, and have not been delegated to the general or federal government. But a corporation in relation to a state differs, in several particulars, from a state, in relation to a union of states. A corporation has the power of making bye laws, or local regulations, but it may not be represented like a state; and it derives all its powers from the legislature of the state by which it is incorporated. But a state derives no part of its political power from the legislature of the union, of which it is a constituent part.

If a country is too small for self defence, or too large for one consolidated democracy or government, a union

of several governments tends to preserve the peace and liberty of the people. For where their territory is very small, the inhabitants, unless they are confederated with other states, are in danger of foreign subjection: and where it is very extensive, they cannot, with the same facility, obtain information from the seat of government, or discover what is, or is not, necessary for the general welfare without the aid of a federal constitution. But where the powers of government are divided between the governments of the states, and that of the union, a part of them are deposited at a less distance from the people; and the whole are less dangerous; not only because they are divided, but because the state governments facilitate information; and form checks on the general government, as well as on each other. But each government ought to be confined to its proper sphere, or the benefit of a confederacy may be lost.

NOTE 149. I have already shown that monarchy is the cause of the greatest evil, and democracy the cause of the greatest good; and that, wherever the latter is established in a proper form, the people will discover its utility; and will be sufficiently enlightened to support it; unless it can be destroyed by war, or external agency. I have also shown that the people of a democracy would know their own interest too well to declare war; or use their influence for the subversion of freedom; and therefore, that, when all nations shall be governed by democracy, war, or external agency or influence, the only means which can have been used for its destruction, can no longer exist; and freedom must remain perpetual. But what can render democracy universal? this is the great question which some persons may be unable to answer. However, it may be answer-

ed affirmatively: and, in answering it, I draw near at last to a first conclusion. Whatever can make mankind generally acquainted with their true interests, will render democracy universal. Typography, or the art of printing, assisted by other improvements, can furnish us with this knowledge: therefore this cause will finally extend democracy throughout the world; and relieve mankind from oppression. The art of printing is a late discovery; and former calamities cannot prove it to be ineffectual. Many years may elapse before its efficacy may be fully displayed. But, as all that is necessary to enable mankind to maintain their liberty is a sufficient degree of attainable knowledge, the facility with which information can be diffused by means of the press, and the advancement of science, will enable the people gradually to attain this knowledge. There is no reason to suppose that they will not pursue their welfare, after they are taught to know what will promote it: neither is there any reason to believe, that they will not be successful if they pursue it: for, as the people have the greatest physical strength, when knowledge enables them to employ that strength in the support of democracy, liberty must triumph forever.

I presume that my readers are now convinced, that monarchy is inconsistent with the welfare or interest of a majority of mankind: nay, that it is contrary to the interests of every individual in existence. However, lest some doubt should still remain, I will refresh the reader's memory by a brief repetition or recapitulation of a few conclusive arguments. First, it is inconsistent with the welfare of the few, because it is contrary to the interests of the many. And, besides the other consequences of injustice, to hold, or to obtain, that which is

contrary to the interests of the many, must occasion fear care, and anxiety, : and he who is over burthened with fear, care, or anxiety, cannot be happy. The few, therefore, could not derive felicity from royalty : as no man can be happy who is enslaved. But I know, indeed, that some men make very different calculations. I know that, although they endeavour to establish monarchy, they do not do it, because they wish or expect to subject themselves to an absolute master but because they love distinction and hate equality. They desire kings without calculating on being subjects. They hope to limit the crown, obtain titles, and preserve an ample security for themselves, while they destroy the security of the people. They are not actuated by the love of subjection, or subordination ; they hate subordination ; and it is partly because they are unwilling to be restrained, that they wish for distinction. They do not wish to be controled themselves ; but to have an absolute control over others. In short, they desire more power than their merit could obtain : and they hope, if royalty be established, to restrain the king, oppress the people, and become absolute. But, alas, after they have destroyed the liberties of their country, their dreams of checks and limitations soon vanish, and they become slaves.

When, where, or by what, have monarchs ever been limited? The king of England has sometimes been limited by his own imbecility : and so have the despots of the most absolute governments on earth. But when has the English throne been filled by an active monarch who has not been able, either publicly or secretly, either by intrigue or by violence to bring the most powerful of the nobility to destruction. Many instances might be

mentioned, were it has actually been done. So that after they have destroyed the equilibrium of political equality; after they have established a throne; after they have destroyed the liberties of the people; all their dreams of imaginary security vanish like smoke, and they become prostrate at the feet of the regal overgrown monster whom they have raised. Hence between libertyand slavery, there is no medium; you must either support democracy or submit to despotism: and will any man hesitate between them? surely, it is better to be satisfied with enough, than by grasping at more than we could enjoy, to lose both securityand contentment. But I am not contending that all who desire royalty are unwilling to become slaves; some of them are, no doubt, vile and ignorant enough to desire that condition: but these observations are intended to show, that whether the few become so willingly or unwillingly, they destroy their own happiness by the change. Secondly, it is inconsistent with the welfare or interests of the many, because it deprives them of the comforts of life; or subjects them to hardship and cruelty. This latter proposition is probably more obvious than the former: but, as it is a necessary link in the chain which supports the ultimate conclusion, I shall, with no less brevity, recapitulate the arguments which demonstrate it.

If we consider that all property, power and dominion, on earth must be divided or held, in some way, by its inhabitants, we shall readily perceive, that if some have large shares, others must have small ones: for where many divisions are made, it is impossible to make a few very large, without making many very small. Even if one half be divided among the few, and the other half

among the many, the shares of the many must necessarily be small: because the one can only accumulate, by the diminution of the other. For instance, if a small community, consisting of 1050 persons, be settled on ten thousand acres of land, if we suppose that it is a monarchy; and that four hundred acres belong to the king; two hundred acres a piece, to nine of his principal courtiers; and seventy a piece, to forty others; one half of the land would be divided among fifty persons; and if the other half were divided even equally among the rest of the population, consisting of one thousand persons, they would not have more than an half acre a piece. But if a community be subjected to a monarchy, there will be a much greater proportion of property than one half, in the possession of a few: and besides this inequality of property, there will be a still greater inequality of power and dominion: for in monarchy sovereign power is exercised by one man; and if property were not so unequal at first, monarchical power would, not only soon render it so, but would incessantly draw into its vortex or whirlpool, the principal part of all the produce of industry and care. This has frequently been verified by experience: it is, moreover, clearly deducible from general principles: because if the few did not expect to obtain such immense riches and incomes, under monarchy, they would not be so solicitous for its establishment. They would not be willing to become slaves, and to subject themselves to the fears, perils, and anxieties, which must be occasioned by such a wrongful government, if it would not enable them to extort an immense property and revenue from the people. Now, as all the property, power, and *dominion*, on earth, must be in the possession of men-

kind, that which gives all, or nearly all, to the few, must take all, or nearly all, from the many. As monarchy has this effect, therefore, monarchy is inconsistent with the welfare or interest of the many : unless it is not inconsistent with a man's welfare, to strip him of his property and reduce him to beggary. But it is not only inconsistent with their welfare because it divests them of all their share of power, and all, or nearly all their property, but because it subjects them to such fears, insults, mortifications, miseries, and tortures, as can scarcely be imagined or described. They who are denominated the many, are not less, perhaps, than nine-teen twentieths of the whole community But if they be the majority only, (and they cannot be less,) they must be the greatest physical power, and as they are always in pursuit of happines or interest, as soon as the art of printing shall teach them to know that monarchy is inconsistant with their happiness, they will certainly abolish it ; and substitute democracy in its stead. And therefore democracy will become universal : and peace and liberty be coextensive with the world.

If any other arguments were necessary to establishthis conclusion, they might be derived or deduced from the attributes of the deity. For it is certainly incompatible with our faith in his attributes, to belive that he intended that the human race, should always remain in the miseries of monarchy. This would be inconsistent with the mercy, wisdom and power, ascribed to God : and therefore we must either deny his attributes ; or admit that liberty will finally prevail.

NOTE 150. As god is omnipotent, he could have made whatever is proper for the food of man, spring spontaneously from the earth ; and grow exuberently, with-

out the toil of the husbandman: yet he ordained that the necessaries of life should not be produced without labour. But as he is a merciful being, he could not have imposed labour on man, to make his situation more unhappy; but for some useful purpose. The wisdom of the creator, in making toil necessary for the production of food, must, I think, be obvious to his creatures. We are subjected to labour by the strong desire of obtaining nourishment; because a certain degree of exercise and temperance are necessary for the preservation of our health, and the prolongation of our lives. If we could obtain our food without work, we might want a sufficient stimulous to action, or check to excess. Agreeably to this wise design of providence, we behold a moderate and due degree of labour, imposed on the great family of mankind. But if this labour be too unequally divided amongst them, that which was intended for their good would become, in a greater or less degree, an evil; because some would be overburthened and injured by toil and want, and others, by indolence and excess. Consequently, whatever imposes too great a burthen on some, and too little, on others must be wrong. Therefore, as monarchy has this effect, it must be an unjust system. It must be inconsistent with the good which providence intended to produce, by creating the necessity of labour. If any one should ask how any thing could be inconsistent with the designs of providence; I answer, that the deity allowed to mankind a certain degree of free will: and if they choose evil instead of good; if they divide labour so unequally between them that it becomes an evil, they must blame themselves. It is not difficult to show that the whole amount of labour to which they are subject, is not any

too much, if it were properly divided, for their own benefit: neither is it difficult to show, that the produce of it would be amply sufficient for the whole human family, if it were not monarchally or unjustly monopolized, by withholding the reward of industry. Except where there is a scarcity occasioned by war or some other misconduct of the human race, the earth produces necessaries enough to support all her inhabitants. This, perhaps, may be doubted; because some are in want: but if some have too little, we know that others have too much, or there could be no intemprance in the world. Experience has proved that nations can generly obtain enough to prevent their citizens from starving to death. Consequently, if they could obtain what is sufficient to prevent every one from starving, while food is so uneqnally divided, and when some have much more than is useful; it follows that there would be enough for all, if all could obtain a reasonable share; or if some did not obtain more than is necessary, by means of unjust government. It must be obvious that if they who are in want, can possibly sustain life on what they have, if they had a little more, even if it were less than what is superfluous and even injurious to those who have too much, all their wants would be supplied, and they would have as much as nature requires. But under a just government, they who are in want would not only be able to obtain what would be wasted in monarchy; they would not only be able to obtain a reasonable share of what the earth at present produces, and thereby supply what is barely necessary; but they would be able to obtain more; because the earth would afford a greater quantity of necessaries than it does now, if those

who are subjected to useless toil were engaged in useful occupations.

The same reasoning may be applied with respect to labour. All the labour which is now performed, is performed by a part of mankind. And as it can all be performed by a smaller number, it could certainly be performed, with ease, by a greater; or if those who gain a living dishonestly, or without sufficient exercise for their own good, would assist in the performance of it. In these cases a medium is best: and as half the sum of the two extremes, is just equal to the medium, therefore, if those who are in one extreme, would assist those in the other; or if those who labour too little for their own welfare, would bear a part of the burthens of those who labour too much, all would be right. I do not however mean to affirm that all men should be labourers: all I mean to assert is, that if every one would do as much as is requisite for his own health, and to avoid dishonesty, the tasks of all would be easy.

The greatest portion of these injurious extremes would indubitably be avoided, if unjust governments did not draw the resources of pernicious intemperance to one part of mankind, by imposing cruel hardships on the other. But it is unnecessary to detain the reader much longer on this subject. In a former note, I have demonstrated, that monarchy is the cause of this great inequality in the division of labour and its product. I have shown that under that species of government, indolence is united with intemperance, and hunger with toil. These unions, the most discordant which could possibly be formed, descend from one generation to another, debasing and brutalizing the human race. No-

thing could be more inimical to human happiness, than this state of things.

If mankind have any degree of free will, (and most men seem conscious that they have,) there must be a distinction between right and wrong. And it must appear, from what I have previously observed, that if there is any difference between them, monarchy must be wrong, and its adversary right. Without some degree of free will, or power to choose, no man could be criminal: for whatever is done, cannot be criminal, if we have no power to avoid it. But why is any man conscious of guilt, if no act can be be vicious? If we are conscious of nothing, if all is imaginary, then, indeed, there can be no crime; but if there can be a crime committed, that of creating royalty is the greatest.

I think no man can seriously doubt the existence of right and wrong. That consciousness of their distinction, that monitor which is placed in every man's breast, is the clearest proof of their existence. It is as clear a proof as the instinct of a beast, is, of the existence of poison. The brute might conclude that there was no poison, because he was unable to discover the reason of it; but he could not disregard that sagacity or sense, which ought to direct him, with impunity. So neithesr could he who concludes that there is no wrong: for as God has given to brutes, the faculty of distinguishing his food from poison: so has he given to man the faculty of distinguishing good from evil. This faculty of discriminating between right and wrong, could not have been given in vain: the very existence of it is, therefore, a proof that there is something to discriminate.

He who disregards the dictates of his conscience, may

plead ignorance of right; but will he, therefore, be pardoned? Nature speaks within us, and gives us her commands: and though we are ignorant of the reason of them, as they are sufficient for our direction, our ignorance of their cause, is no excuse for our disobedience. The child may be unable to comprehend the reason of his father's commands; but his disobedience would not, therefore, be excused.

Some endeavour to create doubts, by saying that what some think right, others think wrong; and that one opinion is as likely to be correct as another: as if contradictory assertions rendered every thing uncertain; as if there were no other criterions than other men's opinions, to ascertain truth; as if there were nothing like proofs and demonstrations; as if there were no rule by which that which is uncertain, or unknown, may be deduced from that which is known. But I affirm that one opinion is not as likely to be correct as an other. That opinion which may be demonstrated is not only most likely to be correct, but certainly is so. If one man should say that he was a horse; and another should say that he was not a horse; would it not be absurd to assert that one was as likely to be correct as the other? It certainly would; for the truth of one proposition, and the falsehood of the other, would be susceptible of demonstration. Hence truth is not created by opinion, but is the immutable property of nature. It is in vain, therefore, to endeavour to confound truth with falsehood, by assertions. Whatever is demonstrable, or most reasonable is right; and whatever contradicts it, is wrong. However, as the evils which result from the excesses of labour and want,

idleneness and intemperance, are produced by monarchical governments; as these evils are injurious to all classes of the human race; and could not have been intended by providence; therefore that species of government which is the cause of them must be injurious, could not have been intended, and, by the progression of improvement, must, finally, be abolished. I shall now take my leave of this subject; for if there is any such thing as right or wrong, virtue or vice, I have said enough; and if there is no such thing, it is useless to say more. But before I take my leave of the reader I must beseech him to think seriously of the nature and design of this book before he endeavours to depreciate it; either for the display of his wit, or the gratification of his spleen. The propagation of useful opinions ought not to be retarded for such purposes; and both the witty and the malignant may find much fitter occasions for the display of their ingenuity, or indulgence of their malice. If the doctrine maintained in this work be correct they cannot make it the subject of their satire without being enemies to themselves: neithercan they make me an object of derision without opposing, in some measure, the principles I profess.

I do not pretend to be exempt from the weakness of human nature. I could wish to avoid censure or abuse; but the detracter is not to suppose that I am wholly unprepared for it; or insensible of the risk I incur. I am not ignorant that the promulgation of our opinions developes secrets which can never be recalled, and must subject us to public scrutiny, if not to scorn or reproach. The selfish, artful politician, is generally cautious not to publish his sentiments to the world, lest he should furnish evidence against himself: and I shall pro-

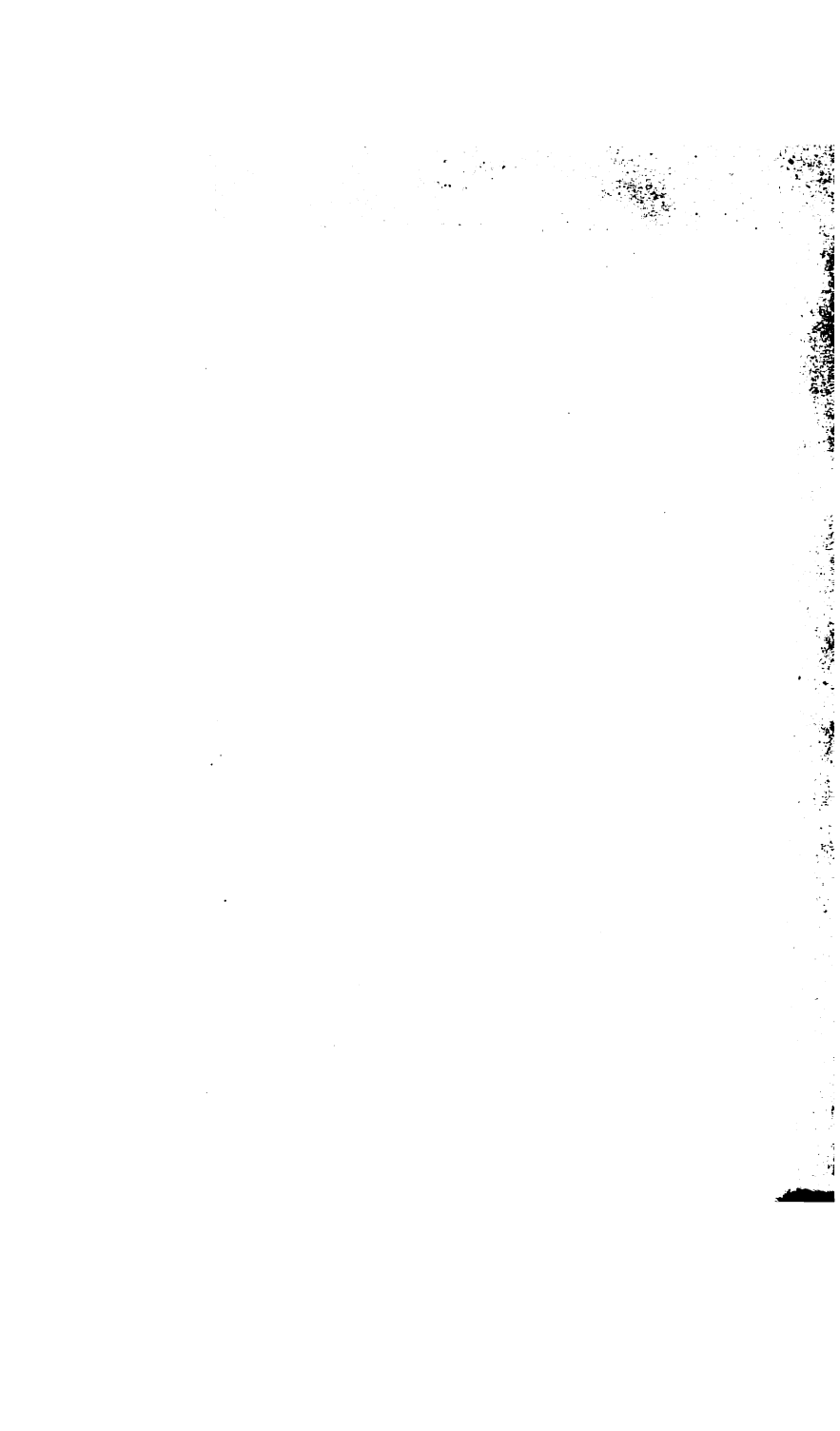
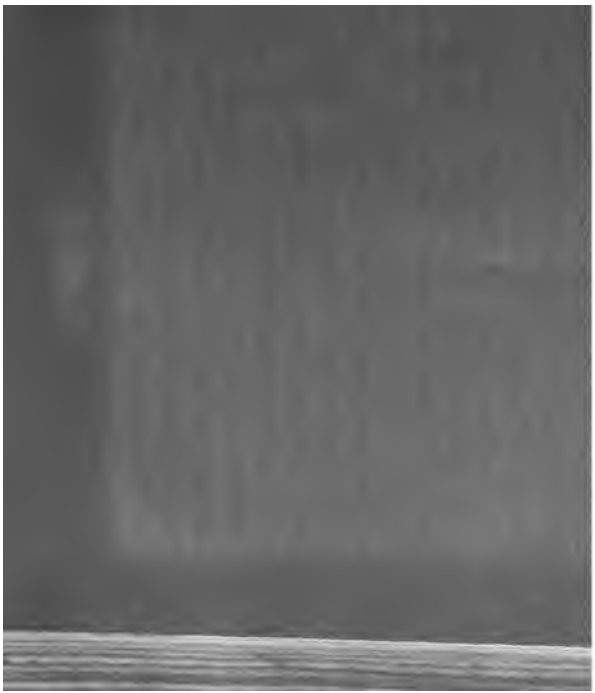
bably be called a fool, for not pursuing the same course; but such epithets ought not to deter us from our duty. However when a man through a desire of doing good, departs from this artful policy; the same desire may excite a wish to avoid calumny or reproach: and any attempt to defend himself from it provided it is not by a sacrifice of principle may be excused; moreover as the vail is drawn aside, a man is probably quite as apt to blush, for the nakedness of his mind, as for that of his body, and therefore, must naturally feel as strong an impulse, to guard it from illiberal abuse; perhaps, I am not quite free from this impulse but motives much stronger than this, have produced these remarks. For myself I hope to find consolation in the reflection that no man of urbanity or good principles would wantonly sport with our feelings, and others are unworthy of notice.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page.	*Line.*	
1	14	for It it, read, It is
4	4	for it it, read, it is
6	9	for has, read, have
12	6	for intention, read, extention
13	1	for is one, read, is there one
15	21	for known, read, know
15	30	for edition, read, addition
31	5	for men, read, man
32	11	for or, read, nor
41	24	for end, read, ends
59	17	for food, read, fruit
60	21	for became, read, become
64	27	for lead, read, lend
66	26	for doom, read, down
68	17	for aching eye, read, asking eye
68	18	for or, read, nor
68	23	for lusts, read, lust
69	2	for torment, read, torments
78	12	for the, read, we
82	30	for rage, read, raged
84	20	for fictions, read, fictious
93	9	for disordered, read, disorder
93	11	for shaks, read, shahs
94	19	for are, read, as
107	8	for bound, read, bond
112	18	for work, read, worth
113	18	for joy, read, joys
119	16	for friends, read, fiends
126	12	for statisic, read, statistic

References accidentally omitted.

29	6	read (19)	between the words	forc'd constructions	
31	7	read (26)	——	——	emetic race
31	21	read (28)	——	——	vast armies
32	3	read (30)	——	——	guild a path
33	28	read (37)	——	——	human passions
36	28	read (41)	——	——	famous Tully
79	13	read (89)	——	——	tyrant here
82	1	read (98)	——	——	royal discord

There are some other omissions and errors which, it is be*lieved*, the good sense of the reader can supply or correct.